THE CHARACTER OF EMIGRATION FROM WILTSHIRE TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES, 1630-1660

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Abstract

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The dissertation's general purpose is to answer two obvious questions: who were the emigrants? and why did they leave? The chosen area of study, Wiltshire, permits a test of various emigration theses based exclusively on the East Anglian experience. The chosen period of study, 1630-1660, allows a comparison of two important migratory movements--that of the 1630's to New England, and that of the 1650's to Virginia and the West Indies.

The first section outlines 314 Wiltshire emigrants' general characteristics--i.e. age, sex, family and marital status, geographic origin, and socio-economic standing. One important conclusion of the analysis is that, contrary to the historiographical commonplace, the 1630's and 1650's emigrants were remarkably similar. Most of the emigrants of both movements were relatively young (under 30 years of age); most were unmarried (with a substantial minority of nuclear families among the 1630's emigrants); most were not farmers, but artisans drawn primarily from the county's urban centers and forest-pasture communities. Kinship and neighborhood bonds played prominent roles in both movements, and often determined the pattern of initial settlement in the New World. As far as can be determined, the emigrants as a group were neither very wealthy nor very poor, but were drawn from the "middling" ranks of English society. Moreover, it is suggested that

these emigrant characteristics, in many respects, compare favorably with those of the East Anglian-Kentish emigrants who departed during the 1630's. The one noticeable difference between this group and the Wiltshire group--fewer married couples (and children) among the latter--is explained not by a difference in motivation, but by a striking regional variation in the age at marriage. Finally, this section demonstrates the similarities between the Wiltshire emigrants and internal English migrants of the period.

Section II deals with motivation. In lieu of any written statements of motives, the study pursues the next best alternative of inferring motives from an analysis of objective structural determinants--population growth, rents and prices, harvest qualities, disease, condition of industry, and religious pressures--as they affected those identified centers of Wiltshire emigration, towns and forest-pasture regions. One major conclusion is that, upon careful assessment, some of the most oft-mentioned reasons for emigration--decline of the cloth industry, incidence of dearth and disease, enclosures and disforestments--were of little significance in the Wiltshire emigration.

On the other hand, it is demonstrated that the county's urban centers and forest-pasture communities both exhibited features which made them likely sources of emigrants. Feudal ties of subordination hardly existed, or were rapidly waning, so that neither social nor religious control was very strong there. Inhabitants of these places are shown to have been generally freer and more mobile than those of the county's heavily manorialized, champion "Chalk". Moreover, customs on inheritance, declining

apprenticeship opportunities, demographic pressures, and soaring rents on new takings are singled out as obstacles increasingly encountered by young, male inhabitants of these towns and forest-pasture communities. The end result of this was an unusual delaying of first marriage, and (for some) migration. The latter contributed to a demonstrated decline or levelling of population during the period, ca. 1630-ca. 1670. Most of this population undoubtedly was lost to other places within the realm; some of it was lost to the American colonies. Finally, towns and forest-pasture regions are revealed to have been centers of religious radicalism. Although it is considered fruitless to weigh the religious factor against the socio-economic factors, and though there is little evidence of religious discontent on the part of individual emigrants, surviving records do suggest that the religious impulse was not incidental among the mix of motives which led Wiltshiremen to emigrate to the colonies.

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INTRODUCTION

Sociologists of twentieth-century migration pose two basic and obvious questions at the outset of any analysis of human migration: who are the migrants? and why did they leave? The questions are equally pertinent to an historical study of seventeenth-century emigration from England to the American colonies.[1]

Until recently, historians of the so-called "Puritan Hegira" of the 1630's have been concerned almost exclusively with the question of motivation. A ferocious debate developed over the primacy of economic factors as against religious discontent in producing the emigration. This controversy has, to a remarkable extent, retained the framework set by James Truslow Adams and Samuel Eliot Morison over thirty years ago.[2] John Horton has more recently revived the debate, as it happens rather superficially, by comparing emigration from Suffolk and Leicestershire during the 1630's. He concluded that religious persecution, or lack of

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[1] See, for example, Robert C. Taylor, "Migration and Motivation: A Study of Determinants and Types," in J. A. Jackson, ed., Migration (Cambridge, 1969), Chapter 5. In the present study, I will use the term 'migration' to mean an internal (witin England) movement of persons ('migrants'); 'emigration' will be used to denote a movement of individuals ('emigrants') across national boundaries, outbound.

[2] J. T. Adams, The Founding of New England (Boston, 1921), pp. 121-22; S. E. Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony (Boston, 1930), pp. 340-46. A succinct account of the controversy can be found in Edmund S. Morgan, "The Historians of Early New England," in Ray Allen Billington, ed., The Reinterpretation of Early American History: Essays in Honor of John Edwin Pomfret (San Marino, Calif., 1966), pp. 45-52.

it, was the main determinant of the varying numbers of emigrants from each county.[3] Only very recently has the traditional either/or dichotomy-- either religion or economics --been successfully challenged. In a study of East Anglian and Kentish emigration to Massachusetts during 1637, Timothy Breen and Stephen Foster attacked the whole attempt to separate one cause from another as "hopeless" and "unhistorical."[4]

Another unfortunate result of the traditional debate is that it has led more often than not to a dependence on monocausational theses of emigration. Too much uncritical use of strictly "Puritan" sources of the movement, for example, has resulted in an overemphasis of the so-called Laudian persecution as a factor.[5] Often, additional motives for emigration are either entirely ignored or glossed over. It is interesting that the only study which treats the East Anglian emigration of the 1630's in detail-- Norman Tyack's doctoral dissertation completed in the early 1950's --also

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[3]Horton's thesis suffers from many flaws, the most obvious of which is that the author relies too heavily on existing passenger lists, leading him to assume too hastily that more people left Suffolk than Leicestershire during the period. See J. T. Horton, "Two Bishops and the Holy Brood: A Fresh Look at a Familiar Fact," New England Quarterly, 40 (Sept., 1967), 339-63.

[4]Breen and Foster feel that there is enough evidence of a marked congruence between economic and religious discontent in various areas of East Anglia and Kent to make the two factors "historically inseparable." See T. H. Breen and S. Foster, "Moving to the New World: The Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., 30 (April, 1973), 189-222.

[5]Even Carl Bridenbaugh's supposedly "fresh" look at the New England migration betrays an over-dependence on the writings of Puritan divines. See Carl Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642 (New York, 1968), pp. 465-7.

illustrates the complexity of assessing the problem of motivation.[6]

There are still two major failings of the whole historiography of emigration during the 1630's to New England. First, the studies have failed to answer the first of the two principal questions posed earlier: who the emigrants were. Second, there are no answers given for both questions in regard to areas outside of East Anglia and south-eastern England. Only Breen and Foster have attempted a systematic analysis of the mass of ordinary settlers who moved to New England. Yet, as even these two authors admit, more work on the questions "who went" from other areas and "why" is desperately needed.[7]

Neither has there been any serious attempt made to ask the two questions of a later period of emigration-- the 1650's --and to compare the findings with conclusions drawn from an analysis of the earlier emigration to New England. Mildred Campbell's study of the social origins of the large group of indentured servants who sailed to America from Bristol and London in the latter half of the seventeenth century was pioneering. But, nothing has been done either to test the validity of her conclusions

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[6]Norman C. P. Tyack, "Migration from East Anglia to New England before 1660" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1951).

[7]Carl Bridenbaugh attempted a general interpretation of English emigration during the period 1590-1642. Yet, the work is almost too general in its analysis of emigration from areas outside East Anglia to be meaningful. The author seems to be content to catalogue the woes of English society in the 1630's, and makes no real attempt to determine from where the non-East Anglian emigrants came, or to test the relevance of the various economic, demographic, political, and religious problems which may have affected those areas to the question of motivation.

concerning the general characteristics of the emigrants, or to investigate motivation on a local level.[8] Moreover, work on the internal migration of lower- and middle-class Englishmen during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has reached a stage which permits comparisons. In particular, the recent work of Peter Clark, A. L. Beier, and Paul Slack has gone a long way toward painting a composite picture of the "typical" migrant of the period which no student of seventeenth-century emigration can ignore.[9]

The general purpose of this study, then, is to fill in some of the gaps just outlined, and to draw needed comparisons. More specifically, the objective is to investigate the pattern and factors of emigration from Wiltshire to the American colonies during the period 1630 to 1660. The area of study, Wiltshire, permits a test of various emigration theses based exclusively on the East Anglian experience. The period of study, 1630-1660, allows a comparison of two key migratory movements-- that of the 1630's to New England via Southampton; and that of the 1650's to

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[8]Mildred Campbell, "Social Origins of Some Early Americans," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959), pp. 63-89. Campbell did deal, in part, with motivation; but, her conclusions are broad generalizations, at best.

[9]A useful summary of work on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century migration which preceded that of Clark, Slack, and Beier is John Patten, Rural-Urban Migration in Pre-Industrial England, Research Papers, No. 6, School of Geography, University of Oxford (Oxford, 1973); Peter Clark, "The Migrant in Kentish Towns, 1580-1640," in P. Clark and P. Slack, eds., Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700 (London, 1972), pp. 117-63; A. L. Beier, "Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England," Past and Present, No. 64 (Aug., 1974), 3-29; Paul Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1598-1664," Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 27 (May, 1974), 360-79.

Virginia and the West Indies via Bristol. The first section of the dissertation will deal with the "who" part of the general question posed at the outset-- that is, the general characteristics of the emigrants as a class. The second part will attempt to answer the question "why"-- that is, investigate the multitude of factors, both long- and short-term, which served as motives for those who made their way from home to port, and ultimately, to the English colonies in North America.

SECTION I

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EMIGRANTS

A. THE 1630's

Those people who crossed the Atlantic to settle in New England during the Great Migration of the 1630's remain a relatively obscure group. Lack of hard statistical data has forced most students of the movement to rely too heavily on statements of Puritan emigrant-leaders such as John Cotton and John Winthrop. The typical middle- or lower-class men and women who decided to leave their homes thus appear in the general accounts of the emigration only haphazardly. Only the recent effort of Breen and Foster has managed to pierce the veil of anonymity covering one group of emigrants: the East Anglian and Kentish emigrants of 1637. More research is needed to determine if the general form of emigrant uncovered by the authors-- the urban artisan of puritan leaning --was at all typical.

I have attempted a general overview of the personal characteristics of another group of emigrants from a different region of England-- a group of 110 men, women, and children who left the western county of Wiltshire in three waves during the years 1635 and 1638.[1] An outline of the emigrants' ages, sex, family and marital status, areas of origin, and socio-economic status will, I hope, serve three purposes. First, it will allow a badly-

[1] A list of the emigrants appears in Appendix A.

needed comparison with the East Anglian group who went to America, other migrants of early modern society, and both migrants and emigrants of later periods. Second, it will permit the identification of a number of characteristics which distinguish, to some extent, emigrants from non-emigrants of the period. Finally, it may aid in assessing motivation, to be dealt with in the next section.

Surviving lists of emigrants facilitate studies of this sort. Englishmen who departed the kingdom before the Civil War had to present the royal customs officers with evidence that they had taken the Oath of Allegiance to the King and conformed to the Church of England. It may be that many ignored the regulations, or at least escaped them, and the records of most emigrants have been lost. But registers and passenger lists giving at least the names of nearly three thousand of the first settlers of New England still exist, the most valuable of which provide information about age, vocation, and place of origin.

Most of the early lists were collected and published by John Camden Hotten in the late nineteenth century. Several decades later, Charles Banks attempted to re-arrange the names on the Hotten lists by county and, by utilizing extant genealogical material, to do more justice to the Northern and Western counties.[2] Both works, however, are biased in favor of East Anglia, as a result

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[2]John C. Hotten, ed., The Original Lists of Persons of Quality...and others Who Went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700 (London, 1874); Charles E. Banks, comp., Topographical Dictionary of 2885 Emigrants to New England, 1620-1650, 3rd ed. (Baltimore, 1963).

of the pattern of surviving port records.[3] Hence, any attempt to treat these records as random samples can lead to hasty conclusions.[4]

Some rare surviving registers which record important data about individual emigrants from the South and West of England make more limited, but perhaps more reliable, analyses possible. Of the 302 emigrants on those lists, 81 gave Wiltshire as their county of residence.[5] These, along with 29 others from Wiltshire who left at the same time, but who were omitted from the lists, comprise the group to be analyzed in this section of my study.[6]

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[3]An East Anglian emigrant from a well-recorded port such as Great Yarmouth, for instance, has a far better chance of being detected than a North or West Country man whose existence is known only from his accidental appearance in a genealogical work. Simply because more passenger lists survive from East Anglia, this does not mean that most emigrants to New England were from that region.

[4]Thus Horton exaggerated the importance of the religious motive in sending more men and women to New England from Suffolk than Leicestershire. Based on Banks' statistics, Horton assumes that more people left Suffolk because of Bishop Wren's "persecutions" in that county. Horton, "Bishops and the Holy Brood," 341. Similarly, Carl Bridenbaugh assumes that the majority of emigrants to New England came from East Anglia, where the religious motive was "prominent." Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled, pp. 465-6. It may indeed be true that most of the emigrants to New England were from East Anglia; but one cannot assume this until more port records are uncovered or until further genealogical work redresses the unbalanced picture we have at present.

[5]As far as I can determine, the following are the only surviving (and published) passenger lists recording emigrants to New England from the West of England: (1) From Weymouth, March 1636. Hotten, Original Lists, p. 283; (2) From Southampton, April 1635. New England Genealogical and Historical Register (hereafter cited as NEGHR), 14 (1860), 332-6; (3) From Southampton, May 1638. Hotten, Original Lists, pp. 298-9; (4) From Southampton, April 1638. NEGHR, 14, 332-6. The last three include the Wiltshire emigrants.

[6]See Appendix A for the sources used to identify the 29 unrecorded emigrants from Wiltshire.

Concerning the ages of individual emigrants, the records are very revealing.[7] Migration has always been considered an activity for the young. In fact, one sociologist concluded that the only factor which consistently differentiated a migrant from a non-migrant over long periods of time and in several contexts was that persons in their late 'teens, their 'twenties, and early 'thirties were more migratory than other groups. Indeed, migrants of the pre-industrial period as well as emigrants of later periods were relatively young. Sixteenth - and seventeenth-century English vagrants and rural-urban migrants, for the most part, fell between the ages of 16 and 29; while the most common age of Scottish twentieth-century emigrants was 25.[8] As Table 1 shows, those who left Wiltshire for New England conform fairly closely to this pattern.

That most of the adult emigrants who left England during the

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[7]Age at time of departure was given for only 36 of the 110 Wiltshire emigrants. Through the use of parish registers and genealogical works, the ages of a total of 64 were determined. See Appendix A.

[8]Clifford Jansen, "Some Sociological Aspects of Migration," in Jackson, ed., Migration, p. 63; Jean-Pierre Poussou, "Les Mouvements Migratoires en France et a Partir de la France de la Fin du XVe Siecle au Debut du XIXe Siecle: Approches pour une synthese," Annales de Demographie Historiques, (1970), 15; Beier, "Vagrants and the Social Order," 10; Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy," 366' T. H. Hollingsworth, Migration (Edinburgh, 1970). p. 143; P. Clark, "Migrants in Kentish Towns," p. 124.

TABLE 1

AGES OF WILTSHIRE, OTHER SOUTH-WESTERN, EAST ANGLIAN, AND KENTISH EMIGRANTS, 1634-40[a]

From	under 16 (child)	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	over 40	total known	total unknown
Wilts.	26 (40%)[b]	6 (9%)	9 (14%)	12 (19%)	5 (8%)	2 (3%)	4 (7%)	64	45
E. Anglia & Kent	117 (55%)	16 (8%)	13 (6%)	18 (9%)	20 (9%)	12 (6%)	15 (7%)	211	62
Other S-W Counties	52 (38%)	14 (10%)	20 (14%)	19 (14%)	14 (10%)	10 (8%)	7 (6%)	136	56
Totals	195 (46%)	36 (9%)	42 (10%)	49 (13%)	39 (9%)	24 (6%)	26 (7%)	411	163

[a]The ages of the Wiltshire emigrants were gathered from sources cited in Appendix A; those of the emigrants from other South-Western counties (Berkshire, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Isle of Wight, and Somerset) were listed in the sources already cited in note 5 (p. 8), above; and the ages of the 273 from East Anglia and Kent studies by Breen and Foster can be found in Charles B. Jewson, ed., Transcript of the Three Registers of Passengers from Great Yarmouth to Holland and New England, 1637-1639, Norfolk Record Society, Publications, 25 (1954) and "Two Early Passenger Lists, 1635-37," in NEGHR, 75 (1921), 217-26.

[b]Percentage of total known

1630's fell between the ages of 16 and 30 should not be too surprising.[9] As a group, they were in this respect altogether representative of the age structure of the society in which they lived. One of the most conspicuous features of pre-industrial England to be gathered from its vital statistics was its overwhelming youthfulness. Gregory King, for example, calculated that over 45 per cent of all people alive in 1695 were children, and that nearly 65 per cent were under the age of thirty.[10]

Besides having been relatively young, the majority of the adult emigrants from Wiltshire were male and, as far as can be determined, single. As illustrated in Table 2, these were characteristics shared with emigrants from other Southern and Western counties. In fact, this conforms to the pattern of emigration during other periods as well.[11]

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[9]In their study of the 273 settlers from East Anglia and Kent, Breen and Foster noted that the group "was not particularly youthful." They emphasized that four-fifths of the male heads of households were over 30 years of age in 1637, the date of departure for New England. Upon close examination of the passenger lists, however, I found that the authors had excluded a considerable number of servants from their analysis of age structure. When the given ages of the servants are included-- as they are in Table 1 --it becomes clear that the ages of the Eastern and South-Eastern emigrants conform fairly closely to those of the Wiltshire group. See Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 194-5.

[10]King's estimates have been confirmed by several recent analyses. See Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (New York, 1965), p. 103.

[11]Hollingsworth, Migration, p. 122.

TABLE 2

THE STATUS OF EMIGRANTS

From	Single Men	Single Women	Husbands & Wives	Children	Total
Wilts.	52 (47%)[a]	4 (4%)	28 (25%)	26 (24%)	110
Other Areas of S.W. England	57 (30%)	13 (7%)	46 (23%)	76 (40%)	192
Totals	109 (36%)	17 (6%)	74 (25%)	102 (33%)	302

[a]Percentage of total

Yet, the findings here apparently do not match those of Breen and Foster for the East Anglian emigration. Among the latter emigrants, there were far fewer single men and single women (only 28%), slightly more married couples (30%), and a far greater number of children (42%). This suggests that a greater number of nuclear family groups participated in the East Anglian and Kentish emigration than in that from Wiltshire.[12]

The reasons for this discrepancy are not entirely clear. Under-recording or under-registration at the Wiltshire emigrants' port of embarkation in 1635 may account for the difference. That is, the passenger list dated April, 1635 from Southampton[13] recorded only single males. Further research, however, reveals that some of

[12]Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 194

[13]NEGHR, 14 (1860), 332-6.

those identified as being single men were in fact married, had children, and emigrated with their families to New England. For example, Anthony Thatcher of Salisbury is registered as having emigrated alone; in fact, he brought along his wife and four children. One can only wonder how many other of these "single" males brought unrecorded families with them.[14] On the other hand, the dissimilarity between the Wiltshire group and the East Anglian-Kentish groups in this regard may have something to do with a regional variation in the age at marriage. It has been shown that the major determinant of family size in England during the early modern period was the age at which men and women (particularly women) first married.[15] Table 3 suggests that Wiltshire men and women were delaying marriage longer than men and women in parts of southeastern England. Given the basic similarity in the age structure of both the Wiltshire and East-Anglian-Kentish groups (see Table 1), it was perhaps the tendency for Wiltshire men and women to marry later that explains the difference in proportions of married couples and children between the two emigrating groups.[16]

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[14]For information regarding the Thatchers, see NEGHR, 47 (1893), 132; Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newburyport, and West Newbury, from 1635 to 1845 (Boston, 1845), p. 18. At least one other instance of under-recording has been discovered: John Evered, alias Webb, from Marlborough apparently emigrated with his wife. See NEGHR, 5 (1851), 124.

[15]See, for example, E. A. Wrigley, Population and History (New York, 1969), pp. 86-7, 116-19.

[16]Interestingly, Paul Slack found exceptionally higher proportions of married couples and children among vagrants from the South-east (East Anglia, Kent, Sussex) than from any other region of England. As he suggested, a possible reason for the difference may be regional variations in age at marriage. Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy," 366.

At any rate, it remains problematical whether this or mere under-registration was the primary reason for the avowed discrepancy in marital status.

TABLE 3

AGE IN YEARS AT FIRST MARRIAGE, BROAD CHALK (WILTS.), STOURTON (WILTS.), ANGMERING (SUSSEX), 1581-1660[a]

Parish	Male	Female
Broad Chalk	28.8 (27)	26.6 (25)
Stourton	27.8 (27)	25.1 (24)
Angmering	26.3 (26)	23.3 (23)

[a]The table was constructed through the use of the three parishes' registers, all of which have been published: Rev. Cecil G. Moore, ed., Register of Broad Chalk, County Wilts., from 1538 to 1780 (London, 1881); Rev. John Henry Ellis, ed., The Registers of Stourton, County Wilts., from 1570 to 1800, Harleian Society, Publications (Registers), vol. 12 (London, 1887); Edward W. D. Penfold, ed., The First Book of the Parish Registers of Angmering, Sussex, 1562-1687, Sussex Record Society, vol. 18 (London, 1913). Median ages are given in parentheses.

Ties of kinship and neighborhood undoubtedly were important factors affecting the movements in both regions. While no systematic analysis has been attempted, there is sufficient evidence in genealogical works and wills to suggest that nearly sixty per cent of the Wiltshire emigrants were related to one or more of their fellow colonists either directly or through marriage. Much of this can be attributed to the number of whole households which emigrated together, or which were preceded by male heads of

households.[17] For instance, surviving family wills reveal that the Thatchers, Batts, and Byleys, who all emigrated from Salisbury between 1635 and 1638, were closely related. There is also evidence of extensive kinship ties among the families and individuals who left the Downton-Whiteparish district of Wiltshire.[18] Family relationships and family influence were constantly recurring factors in the East Anglian movement as well, as evidenced by the close ties of blood and marriage that bound many of the emigrants from that region between 1630 and 1640.[19]

Where family relationships were missing, ties of neighborhood often influenced the character and pattern of emigration.[20] One of the most peculiar characteristics of the 1630's emigration from Wiltshire is the extreme concentration of the emigrants' places of origin. As Figure 1 shows, over ninety per cent of the Wiltshire emigrants came from only four distinct areas of the county-- Salisbury, Marlborough, the Vale of Wardour district, and the Downton-Whiteparish district. Proximity to Southampton or to

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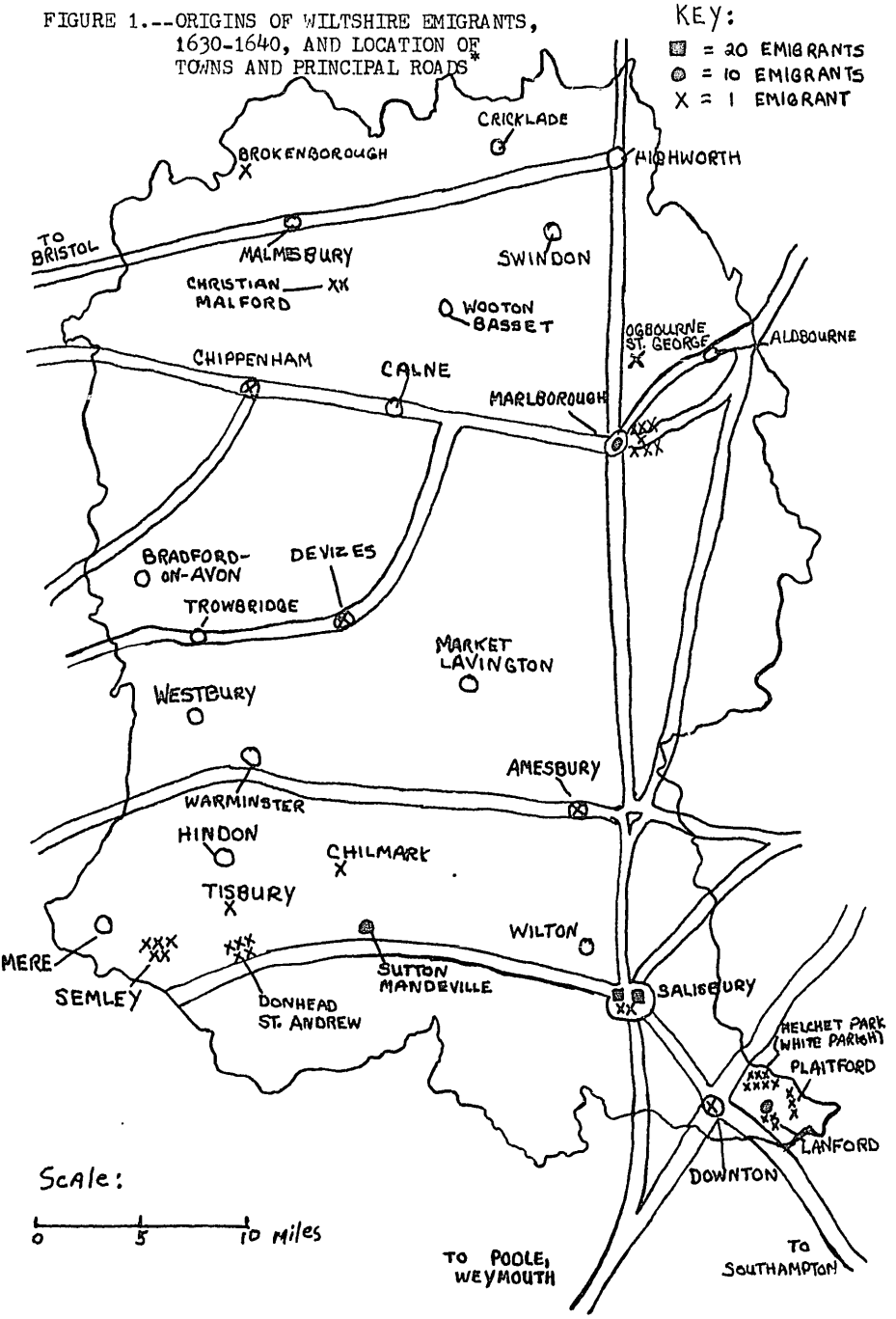
[17] See Appendix A.

[18] Some of the wills have been published in the NEGHR: vol. 66 (1912), 247-8, 256; vol. 39 (1885), 263-4; vol. 47 (1893), 132; vol. 51 (1897), 348-57. See also, Great Britain, Public Record Office (hereafter cited as PRO), PROB 11/137/56 Dale. Will of Anthony Morse, Feb., 1621; PRO, PROB 11/158/105 Scroope. Will of John Coles, Sept., 1630.

[19] Tyack, "Migration from East Anglia," pp. 42-50.

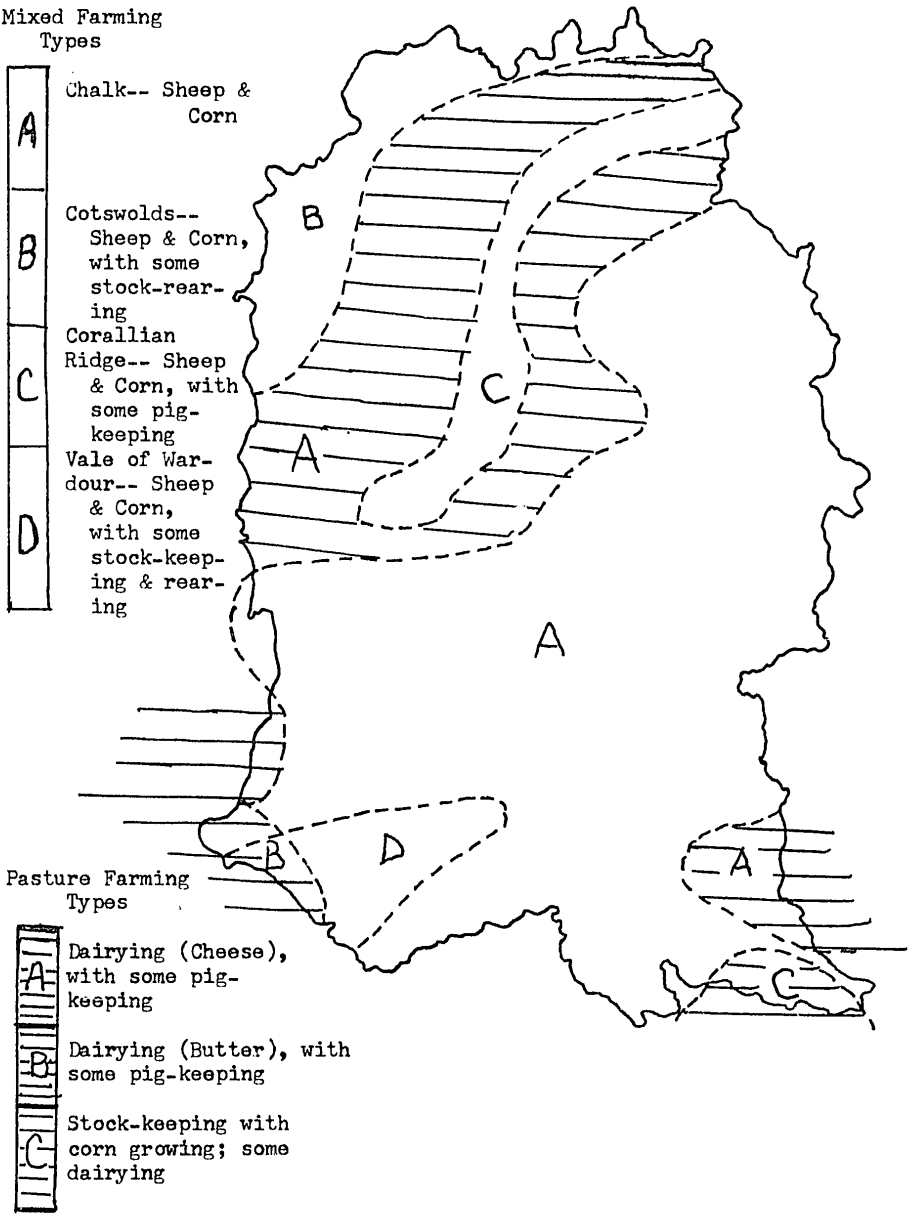
[20] The significance of this factor as a determinant of the pattern of migration is only recently being realized. See, for example, Josef J. Barton, "Immigration and Social Mobility in an American City: Studies of Three Ethnic Groups in Cleveland, 1890-1950" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1971), Chapter 3. For comparisons with the East Anglian emigration, see Tyack, "Migration from East Anglia," p. 49.

FIGURE 1.--ORIGINS OF WILTSHIRE EMIGRANTS, 1630-1640, AND LOCATION OF TOWNS AND PRINCIPAL ROADS*



*An Ordnance Survey map of seventeenth-century England (London, 1930) was used to outline the major road network depicted in Figure 1.

FIGURE 2.--THE FARMING REGIONS OF WILTSHIRE*



*The farming regions of Wiltshire are delineated by Eric Kerridge, "The Agrarian Development of Wiltshire, 1540-1640" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1951).

important roads leading to that port may have been a factor; economic conditions as well as religious and political disruption-- to be discussed in Section II --probably were factors. But, the role of friendships made over the years among neighbors cannot be ignored. Even in the most populous town of the shire, Salisbury, there was remarkable concentration: at least 21 of the 32 emigrants, for whom the parish of origin can be determined, were from St. Edmund's parish.[21] The significance of neighborhood ties becomes more apparent once the pattern of settlement followed by the Wiltshire emigrants in New England is traced. Of the 64 emigrants whose movements in the Massachusetts Bay Colony can be followed, 16 settled in Salisbury, 28 in Newbury, and 20 in Sudbury. All but one of those who settled in the latter town were from the Vale of Wardour district of Wiltshire. It is obvious that neighborhood bonds forged in the mother country were carried across the Atlantic.[22]

Exactly how these groups of neighbors and kin came to embark together on the same ships is uncertain. The way in which prospective colonists were informed of a particular captain's intention to sail to New England is still an unsolved problem. Whatever the actual mechanics, the groups of Wiltshire emigrants did not have to travel far in order to board a New England-bound vessel.

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[21]See Appendix A. Although Christopher Batt and his family were last settled in St. Martin's parish, it is certain that he lived most of his life in St. Edmund's.

[22]The pioneering studies of the relationship between the immigrant's place of origin in England and his subsequent experience in New England are: Sumner C. Powell, Puritan Village (Middletown, Conn., 1963); John J. Waters, "Hingham, Massachusetts, 1631-1661: An East Anglian Oligarchy in the New World," Journal of Social History, 1 (1967-8), 351-70.

The vast majority of Wiltshire men and women came from towns or parishes relatively close to Southampton, some as near as twenty-five or thirty miles. The southern and the eastern sections of Wiltshire-- those areas which sent the greatest number of emigrants -- had centuries-old ties with the decaying port, ties which remained relatively strong into the latter half of the seventeenth century.[23] Even those areas of Wiltshire further removed from Southampton were, because of the extensive road network, no more than a day or two away by horse.[24]

The peculiar concentration of emigrants as depicted in Figure 1 may not have been entirely the result of proximity to major roadways or the workings of kinship and neighborhood ties. It is also interesting that forty-four (40 per cent) of the migrants from Wiltshire came from two very distinct farming regions of the county: the Vale of Wardour in the southwest and the forest-pasture region of the

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[23]This can be demonstrated by an analysis of Southampton's apprenticeship records. Of the 47 Wiltshire apprentices enrolled from 1609-1664, all but three came from the eastern half of the county. See A. J. Willis, comp., A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740. Southampton Record Society, No. 12 (Southampton, 1968).

[24]The condition of seventeenth-century roads remains an historical problem. The assumption is that the roads which served Wiltshire were neither better nor worse than any others. It is certain, however, that the main road from Salisbury to Southampton -- developed as a result of the medieval wool trade --was still in good condition. See The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Wiltshire (hereafter cited as VCH, Wilts.), IV (London, 1959), 255-6. The rate of travel is estimated to have been about 25 miles per day on horseback, and 10 or 12 miles a day on foot. See Joan Parkes, Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1925).

extreme southeast.[25] Figure 2 shows, moreover, that neither region was entirely within that broad area advanced, commercialized sheep-and-corn husbandry known as the Chalk, an area that sent very few, if any, emigrants to the American colonies during the period. In fact, both regions, the Downton-Lanford-Whiteparish district in particular, resembled more closely the other pasture-farming region of North Wiltshire, known as Cheese Wiltshire-- an area of less-advanced farming, and therefore more susceptible to socio-economic dislocation.[26]

It is even more interesting that a county which remained during the seventeenth century predominantly rural and agricultural sent so many of its townspeople to the New World. Sixty-two of the 110 emigrants who left Wiltshire for New England during the 1630's were from towns, the great majority of these (42) from Salisbury alone. While specific circumstances affecting individual towns will be analyzed in Section II, there is no doubt that many provincial

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[25]The passenger lists are generally very reliable in listing the correct places of origin. But, some confusion has arisen over the English origins of a considerable number of emigrants from the southeastern Wiltshire parish of Landford. Apparently unable to locate the parish, Banks assumed the passenger list read "langford," thus confusing the parish with Steeple Langford. I had the opportunity to check the original list (ref. PRO, C.O. 1/9/246-7) and discovered the contemporary spelling to be "Lanford". Further research substantiated my opinion that this was a verbal and written shortening of the word "Landford."

[26]A more detailed analysis of the socio-economic structure of the southeastern and southwestern regions which sent so many emigrants will be attempted in Section II. Distinction between "Cheese" and "Chalk" Wiltshire have been drawn from John Aubrey's time to the present. But, it remained for Eric Kerridge to analyze systematically the differences in agricultural organization and development between the two. John Britton, ed., The Natural History of Wiltshire by John Aubrey (London, 1847); Kerridge, "The Agrarian Development."

towns were going through a stage of rapid development during this period, a transition that could spell temporary or chronic suffering for a great many of their inhabitants.[27] Whatever the specific motivational factors involved, the urban origins of a great number of emigrants to America in this period is now being realized and its significance cannot be ignored.[28]

The emigrants' predominantly urban background is reflected in their given occupations. Of those fifty Wiltshiremen who gave their occupations,[29] there were only nine (three yeomen or husbandmen, four husbandmen, and two agricultural laborers) whose principal occupation was some form of husbandry. In saying this, I have made two assumptions. First, two of the five emigrants who called themselves laborers originated from strictly agricultural areas, and are assumed to have been agricultural laborers. Second, it is assumed that husbandry was not the principal occupation of those town-dwelling artisans who emigrated at that time (see below, pp. 50-1). Included among those emigrant-craftsmen were five tailors, three

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[27]For an excellent general interpretation of the character and significance of English towns during the early modern period, see the Introduction in Slack and Clark, eds., Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700, pp. 1-56.

[28]Certainly Breen and Foster recognized the significance of the urban origins of "well over half" the 1637 emigrants from East Anglia and Kent. Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 197-8, 203-6. It is noteworthy that nearly 45 per cent of the emigrants from other Southern and Western counties gave towns as their place of origin.

[29]The occupational information appears to be accurate. While no exhaustive check was attempted, there is enough evidence in parish registers (the rare ones that list occupations), tax lists, and manorial documents to suggest that the information was both accurately reported and recorded.

tanners, three shoemakers, two weavers, two carpenters and two linen-weavers, as well as a fuller, a sawyer, a mercer, a maltser, a roper, and a surgeon. That the majority of Wiltshire emigrants were artisans was, moreover, by no means atypical. A look at Table 4 reveals that this pattern of occupational distribution was remarkably similar to that of other Southern and Western counties, and, if one disregards its considerable servant element,[30] that of East Anglia and Kent as well.

What of the material well-being of the emigrants? Were they hopelessly poverty-stricken or reasonably prosperous at the time of their departure? With all their implications for the problem of motivation, answers to such questions are obviously important. Yet, they are questions which are extremely difficult to answer authoritatively. Besides the probability that self-styled tanners and

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[30]Though they obviously represent a very substantial element in the emigration to New England during the 1630's, the servants remain a mysterious group. Little is known about them save their sex, age, and geographic origins. An interesting question arises, however, concerning their exact status. Were they, in fact, "servants" in the traditional sense-- that is, young men-servants and maids, apprentices, journeymen, and servants-in-husbandry who "lived in" and can thus be considered as part of the household unit in which they travelled? In many, perhaps most, cases, the answer seems to be yes. But, it is doubtful that all fell into this catagory. For instance, some such as John Cole of Landford (Wilts.) were too old to have been considered servants in the traditional sense. Nor is it likely that the couple from Batcombe (Somerset) which emigrated in 1636 were, in actual fact, "servants" as they were registered, since it was illegal for servants to be married. More likely, these people were less fortunate neighbors who, because they could not afford to pay their own passage, perhaps agreed to indenture themselves to one of their more prominent fellow emigrants for a specified number of years. In this respect, they were very similar to those who emigrated as servants to Pennsylvania between 1682 and 1687. See Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 8 (1884), 328-40.

TABLE 4

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALE EMIGRANTS[a]

Occupation	From Wilts.		From Other S.W. Counties		From East Anglia & Kent	
Gentry	-		-		-	
Professional	1		1[b]		1[b]	
Clothing Trades	5		6		2	
Food and Drink	1		2		2	
Textile Industry	5		3		9	
Metal-Working	-	52%	-	49%	1	41%
Distributive and Transport	1		2		3	
Building Trades	3		11		6	
Leather Trades	6		4		5	
Laborers	3		1		-	
Miscellaneous Crafts	1[c]		2[c]		2	
Rural: Yeomen or	3		1		11[d]	
Rural: Husbandmen	4		13			
Rural: Laborers	2		1			
Servants	15	30%	19	29%	35[e]	45%
Not Given or Vague	16		14		7	

[a]The occupational groupings follow, with slight modification, those used by J. F. Pound, "The Social and Trade Structure of Norwhich, 1525-1575," Past and Present, No. 34 (1966), 67-9. In brief, the groupings are as follows: Gentry-- obviously, all those described as gentlemen; Professional-- teachers, clergymen, etc.; Textiles-- all workers employed in the various stages of woollen and other textile manufacture, dyers and others involved in the finishing processes, but not manufacturers of clothing nor mercers, drapers, etc. engaged in distribution; Clothing-- manufacturers of all clothing from textile materials, but not from leather; Metal-Working-- craftsmen working in ferrous and non-ferrous metals, but but not those engaged in metal mining or smelting; Buiding and Allied-- bricklayers, tilers, masons, glaziers, and similar workers, carpenters and joiners, but not other woodworkers; Leather and Allied-- workers engaged in the making of leather and leather goods, including footwear, gloves, etc., as well as skinners; Food and Drink-- persons employed in the processing and sale of food and drink, including butchers, bakers, brewers, distillers, vintners, innkeepers, millers, fishermen, but not those engaged exclusively in handling (e.g. grocers, fishmongers); Distribution and Transport-- persons engaged in wholesale and retail trade, such as

grocers, apothecaries, drapers, mercers, haberdashers, merchants, etc.; transport workers include carriers, watermen, sailors, coastlers, etc.; wheelrights are also included; Miscellaneous--included are woodworkers not elsewhere specified, and other miscellaneous craftsmen.

[b]Includes one cleric

[c]Includes a cooper, a ropemaker, and a salter

[d]Breen and Foster do not distinguish between yeomen and husbandmen in their analysis.

[e]Breen and Foster list 58 servants, but do not distinguish between male and female. A check of the passenger lists shows 35 male servants.

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mercers were wealthier than laborers or clothworkers, the occupational listing tells us very little about the economic welfare of the emigrants. In fact, one cannot be systematic about the emigrants' financial positions on the eve of their departure at all, mainly because of a complete lack of comprehensive and reliable tax records.[31]

Bits and pieces of information exist, however, which combined with other supportive evidence give an impression (certainly no more than this) of relative well-being. For instance,

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[31]Historians have long realized that assessments for the only levy approaching a national tax, the subsidy, were neither comprehensive nor reliable, and had not been since early in the sixteenth century. See W. G. Hoskins, Local History in England, 2nd ed. (London, 1972), p. 121. For what it's worth, none of the emigrants' names appear on any of the period's surviving subsidy rolls for Wiltshire. See PRO, E 179/199/396. Subsidy assessment (Salisbury), 3 Charles I; PRO, E 179/199/404. Subsidy assessment (Salisbury), 16 Charles I; PRO, E 179/259/22. Subsidy assessment (Cawdon, Cadworth, Downton, Chalk, Frustfield, Amesbury, etc. Hundreds), 17 Charles I.

Christopher Batt, the tanner from Salisbury who paid a 2s. poor rate at St. Martin's, was certainly more comfortable than Zacheus Courtis, who in 1631 was one of several poor children apprenticed by the parish officials of Downton. Rebecca Byley, daughter of a wealthy Salisbury tanner and former mayor of that town, must have been much wealthier than her fellow passenger, Elizabeth Brackston, whose widowed mother and young brother received weekly poor relief from St. Edmund's parish.[32] Moreover, there were obvious differences in wealth among those emigrants who held rural property. Richard Macy, for instance, held at Chilmark with his brother in 1633, approximately twenty acres of meadow, enclosed and unenclosed arable, and enough common pasture for 105 sheep, nine cattle, and two horses. Nathaniel Wyer of Brokenborough, on the other hand, held with his two brothers only a little more than 5½ acres of pasture.[33]

Besides piecing together such scraps of information, one can turn to probate inventories from the period in order to gain

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[32]The information on Christopher Batt was gathered from a miscellaneous poor rate (1635) for St. Martin's parish, found at the Salisbury Municipal Archives Office (hereafter cited as SMA). His 2s. rate places him among the "average" ratepayers. Batt was also well taken care of by his wealthy kinsman, Henry Byley the elder, who left him a house in the market place and £20 in 1633. See NEGHR, 42 (1888), 308-9. Zacheus Courtis' apprenticeship was recorded in the Downton Hundred constable's presentment of 1632. Wiltshire County Record Office (hereafter cited as WRO), Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Hilary 1632. Both Rebecca Byley and her brother (and fellow emigrant) Henry were left handsome bequests by their grandfather. See NEGHR, 42 (1888), 308-9. Their father's will is evidently not extant, but there can be no doubt about his wealth and eminent standing in a community which elected him mayor in 1632. For Brackston, see SMA, Misc. Papers, Listing of St. Thomas' and St. Edmund's Poor, 1635.

[33]Eric Kerridge, ed., Surveys of the Manors of Philip,

an impression of economic status. That is, by analyzing the inventories of Wiltshiremen who practiced similar trades, who came from the same districts, and who died in essentially the same period during which the emigrants left, one can at least approximate the probable financial positions of the individual emigrants.[34]

Tanners from Salisbury, for instance, might well have been the wealthiest of the emigrants. Most Salisbury tanners left (in 1620-1657) inventories totalling between £90 and £230. This was certainly more than most tailors left during the same period. Shoemakers' inventories tend to demonstrate a wealth similar to the tailors, whereas linen weavers were often as wealthy as tanners.[35] The inventories seem to reflect accurately actual trends

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First Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, 1631-2, Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Records Branch, 9 (Devizes, 1953), p. 119; WRO 88/2/46. Survey of Leaseholders and Copyholders on Various Manors (Suffolk and Berkshire Ms.), Brokenborough.

[34]There are obvious drawbacks in utilizing probate inventories in this manner. First, the sample is necessarily restricted by time period (1620's to 1660's), district, and occupational limits imposed. The sample is further restricted because less than a half of the probate material at the WRO contains inventories. Second, inventories often make no mention of landholdings or attach any values to these holdings. Finally, any estimate of a particular social group's economic status cannot be taken as a measure of actual or even approximate wealth. For these reasons, I propose to use the inventories only as supportive evidence.

[35]Inventories employed in the analysis are all at the WRO. Tanners: Leonard Russell, Sub-dean, Sarum (6), 29 Aug., 1636; Robert Warum, Consistory Sarum, 27 June, 1643; Thomas Thomas als. Bisse, Archdeacon Sarum, 16 Aug., 1632; Edward Russell, Sub-dean Sarum (23), 16 Aug., 1626; Richard Merefield the elder, Cons. Sarum, 20 June, 1643; Richard Flood, Sub-dean Sarum (9), 12 July, 1622; Thomas Batt the elder, Sub-dean Sarum (?), 2 Dec., 1657. Tailors: Peter Johnson, Sub-dean Sarum (7), 2 Dec., 1632; Joseph Wathe, Sub-dean Sarum (8), 10 Mar., 1625; Christopher Abbett, Sub-dean Sarum (3), 9 Aug., 1630; John Tite, Sub-dean Sarum (6), 28 Feb., 1620; John Watson the elder, Cons. Sarum, 7 Mar., 1644; Ambrose Ponten, Cons. Sarum, 13 June, 1623; Thomas Hayles, als. Skipper, Cons.

in the relative importance of these various trades, at least in Salisbury. From the list of Salisbury freemen compiled in 1612, it is obvious that the leather trades were becoming increasingly important in a community once dominated by textile interests. Along with the growing importance of the distributive and drink trades, this trend continued throughout the seventeenth century. The relative decline of the clothing trades was a direct result of the general decline of the broadcloth industry of Wiltshire.[36] This is evidenced by the decreasing numbers of apprentices to the Tailors Guild of Salisbury during the period 1600 to 1660.[37]

Laborers, whether from Salisbury or more rural areas, were probably in the most precarious financial position of all. Laborers were under mounting pressure at that time because of population growth, rising food prices, and declining real wages.

Sarum, 9 Sept., 1647; William Daunce, Cons. Sarum, 12 Apl., 1632. **Shoemakers:** Richard Cornwall, Cons. Sarum, 1 July, 1644; Nathaniel Hone, Cons. Sarum, 2 June, 1665; John Rogers, Cons. Sarum, 25 Sept., 1639; Edward Myllington, Cons. Sarum, 3 Oct., 1668; Thomas Pidding, Cons. Sarum, 14 Aug., 1665.

Linen-weaving was a particularly prosperous profession in southwestern Wiltshire, where the soil was well-suited to the growing of flax. It is significant that in 1603, the Wiltshire J.P.'s rated the wages of linen weavers higher than those of cloth weavers. See Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections, Vol. 1 (London, 1901), pp. 165-6 (hereafter cited as HMC, Various, I). The inventories used are as follows: Richard Bowell, Dean of Sarum, 17 Nov., 1641; Robert Olliver, Dean of Sarum, 22 Oct., 1642; George Rogers the elder, Dean of Sarum, 1 May, 1646; Edward Fisher, Dean of Sarum, 1 Jan., 1645; Edward Gray, Arch. Sarum, 2 Feb., 1642.

[36]See Section II, pp.69-73 , for a more complete analysis of both the textile industry and Salisbury's economy. SMA I/252. List of Freemen, 1612.

[37]SMA I/245. Tailors Guild, Act and Memoranda Book, 1444-19th century. See below, p. 108.

Landlessness and poverty were growing in their ranks. Those from forest and pasture areas were especially foot-loose in these circumstances.[38] Inventories of only the wealthier laborers exist, but even these reflect their relatively depressed economic condition. Oliver Beaver from Salisbury, for example, left personal belongings which amounted to a mere £ 13 14s 2d, and which included nothing more than the bare necessities of life. The economic well-being of laborers from rural areas was not much better, the majority of the inventories totalling less than £ 10 each.[39]

It is probable, then, that the economic status of the urban Wiltshire emigrants ranged from low (laborers and at least some of the many servants) to middling (carpenters, weavers, tailors, shoemakers) and relatively high (tanners, linen weavers).[40] The noticeable absence of gentry, merchants, clothiers and drapers from the still-prospering textile areas suggests that the wealthiest chose not to emigrate at this time.

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[38]Alan Everitt, "Farm Labourers," in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 399, 409-11, 421-5, 463.

[39]The laborers inventories used were as follows: Oliver Beaver, Sub-Dean, Sarum (4), 5 Mar., 1633; Nicholas Flood, Arch. Sarum, 26 Nov., 1639; Nicholas Gutche, Arch. Sarum, 1 May, 1622; Robert Edington, Arch. Sarum, 17 Dec., 1627; William Harding, Arch Sarum, 31 Dec., 1631; Walter Arden, Cons. Sarum, 5 June, 1635; Nicholas Butler, Cons. Sarum, 10 May, 1638; Anthony Lany, Cons. Sarum, 25 Apl., 1629; John Chadsey, Archdeaconry of Wiltshire, 7 Dec., 1626; Henry Frie, Arch. Wilts., 12 Dec., 1637.

[40]Besides the evidence produced above, one can assume that such men as Christopher Batt, tanner, and Walter Haynes, linen-weaver, were financially comfortable by the number of servants each brought with them to New England. Batt brought four and Haynes brought three.

It is far more difficult to approximate the probable financial position of the husbandmen and yeoman who did emigrate. Inventories offer little help, since calculations of a farmer's most important asset-- his lands --are very scarce, and when analyzed reveal such a wide range of wealth that generalization becomes meaningless. Some of the husbandmen from the southwestern part of the county (Donheads, Semley, Tisbury, Sutton Mandeville) left inventories totalling over £ 300; others left goods and chattels valued lower than that of a laborer.[41] All one can say with any degree of certainity is that such men as Edmund Goodenowe, who served as churchwarden of his parish and who brought along a servant, and John Sanders, who brought several servants, were financially more secure than many of the others.

In summary, several characteristics about the 1630's emigration from Wiltshire to New England stand out in spite of sometimes

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[41] Inventories of husbandmen and yeoman from both the southwestern and southeastern areas of Wiltshire were used: John Bugden, Arch. Sarum, 19 Dec., 1626; Edward Snooke, Arch Sarum, 29 Dec., 1629; John Wyatt, Arch. Sarum, 5 Apl., 1632; Richard Mullins, Arch. Sarum, 18 Feb., 1621; Thomas Dybben, Arch. Sarum, 24 Mar., 1623; Stephen Bealinge, Arch. Sarum, 20 Feb., 1638; Robert Lucas, Arch. Sarum, 28 Nov., 1644; Thomas Nitingale, Arch Sarum. 14 Feb., 1638; Augustine Rose, Arch. Sarum, 8 Dec., 1638; Thomas Weekes, Arch. Sarum, 1 Apl., 1623; John Parham, Arch. Sarum, 7 Mar., 1627; Richard Biddlecomb the elder, Arch. Sarum, 21 Oct., 1628; Thomas Blandford, Arch. Sarum, 9 Oct., 1624; Thomas Bourne, Cons. Sarum, 21 June, 1625; John Bracker, Arch. Sarum, 11 Oct., 1642; Robert Carpenter als. Wheeler, Arch. Sarum, 27 Nov., 1630; Edward Cox, Arch. Sarum, 26 Nov., 1633; John Downing, Arch. Sarum, 26 Jan., 1646; Robert Morris, Arch. Sarum, 26 Apl., 1642; John Luske, Arch. Sarum, 22 Sept., 1621; William Harraway, Arch. Sarum, 26 Feb., 1638; John Sharpe, Arch. Sarum, 17 June, 1630; Simon Sampson, Arch. Sarum, 17 Feb., 1637; Henry Welsteed, Arch. Sarum, 25 Mar., 1633; John Collis, Cons. Sarum, 21 Jan., 1650; William Pike, Cons. Sarum, 19 May, 1635; Walter Eastman, Arch. Sarum, 17 June, 1645; John Harris, Arch. Sarum, 1 Dec., 1638; John Rolfe, Arch. Sarum, 8 Oct., 1625; Robert Emerie, Arch. Sarum, 4 July, 1626; Robert Ley, Cons. Sarum, 22 June, 1650.

inadequate information. The emigrants on the passenger lists were, for the most part, relatively young and predominantly male. Most were single, but there was a significant number of married couples, each of whom brought several children as well. Moreover, most were drawn from urban communities, and most were craftsmen of some sort. Those who were not came mainly from distinct forest and pastoral regions where they engaged principally in farming. Further research may be necessary to prove that the typical emigrant of the 1630's exhibited characteristics similar to these, but there is no doubt that those who left East Anglia, Kent, Wiltshire and other parts of South and West England conformed fairly closely to this general outline. It remains to be seen how these general characteristics compare with those of a later group of emigrants to the American colonies-- those of the 1650's.

B. THE 1650'S

Ever since it was demonstrated that a significant proportion of America's seventeenth-century settlers emigrated as indentured servants,[1] historians have been intrigued by the question of who these emigrants actually were. Throughout the first third of the twentieth century, the question of the general characteristics of this group-- particularly their social status --remained a subject of the widest conjecture. Charles Andrews said of the indentured servants in Virginia: "Some of them, perhaps many, seem to have been in origin above the level of menials, to have good family connections in England, and in a few instances to have been even of gentle birth." Thomas J. Wertenbaker, on the other hand, stated that they came chiefly from the undesirables and the agricultural classes who under existing conditions in England had no chance to better themselves there. Later, he accepted that Abbott Smith and others were saying, namely that "all kinds came."[2]

It remained for Mildred Campbell to move us beyond the realm

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[1]One-half of the total is held to be a conservative estimate. See M. Campbell, "Social Origins," 68, for the bibliography on this issue.

[2]Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, Vol. I: The Settlements (New Haven, Conn., 1934), p. 208; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The First Americans (New York, 1927), pp. 25, 63. Wertenbaker revised his view in The Old South (New York, 1942), p. 223; Abbot Emerson Smith, Colonists in Bondage (Chapel Hill, 1947), pp. 56-60.

of such impressions and generalizations to firmer conclusions based on systematic analysis of the personal characteristics of a large number of seventeenth-century indentured servants.[3] She concluded that the emigration was one of predominantly male, single, relatively young individuals who left homes located in nearly every county of England and Wales. Her major finding, however, was that among the male servants who emigrated around mid-century, there were few poor laborers, a large majority of husbandmen and yeomen, and a small but significant number of craftsmen. These conclusions were important for two reasons. First, she put to rest forever the mistaken impression that the bulk of indentured servants who emigrated to America were poor laborers, pushed by miserable working conditions in England and beckoned by opportunity across the Atlantic. Second, she confirmed what most historians of colonial America had always assumed to be true-- that the emigration she analyzed was markedly different from that of the 1630's, the Great Migration to New England.[4]

It is uniquely characteristic of pioneering studies that they invite such comparisons. But it is also characteristic that they raise more questions than they answer. How valid, for example,

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[3]Campbell's analysis first appeared in her earlier work on the English yeomanry, The English Yeoman Under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts (New Haven, 1942), pp. 278-81. It was later expanded and published separately as the previously cited, "Social Origins of Some Early Americans."

[4]See, for example, Breen and Foster in their analysis of the 1637 East Anglian-Kentish emigration to Massachusetts. Noting the preponderance of rural, agricultural groups in the movement of the 1650's, they concluded that the "order of occupational frequency differs dramatically from the West Country men" from whence most of Campbell's sample was drawn. Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 197.

are Campbell's conclusions concerning age, sex and occupational status when analyzed on a local level? Were there important regional differences among the types of emigrants who left their homes for the colonies? For that matter, from exactly which regions did the emigrants come?[5]

The purpose of this chapter is to attempt to answer these heretofore neglected questions for one county. Specifically, I have chosen to deal with 204 men and women who left Wiltshire during the period 1654 to 1660 as indentured servants bound for the West Indies and Virginia, via the port of Bristol.[6] It is hoped that by comparing the personal characteristics-- age, sex, marital status, family relationships, geographic origin, and socio-economic standing --with those of the Wiltshire emigrants of the 1630's, the question of how distinctive the latter group was can be answered as well.

The manuscript sources which served Mildred Campbell so well make an analysis of this type possible. In 1654, the Common Council of Bristol ordained that, before embarkation, persons bound as servants for overseas were to be enrolled in the same manner as all city apprentices. The result was a remarkable record which contains the names of some 10,000 people who shipped

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[5]Regarding the latter question, Campbell tells us nothing more than that the prospects of going to America, via Bristol, attracted emigrants from every county in England (except Rutland), with a particular concentration from southern Wales and the counties of Somerset, Wiltshire, and Gloucestershire. We need to know from which regions within these counties most of the emigrants came.

[6]See Appendix B. The destination of the Wiltshire emigrants were as follows: 90 to Barbados; 57 to Virginia; 5 to Nevis; and 52 were not given.

from the port of Bristol between 1654 and 1685. It provides data for the entire group over the whole period; but, the fuller part of the record covers the shorter period from October, 1654 through 1660 and deals with 3,428 emigrants.[7]

The record, unfortunately, says nothing about the ages of the individual emigrants. To help fill this gap, an attempt was made to ascertain the ages of a small group of the Wiltshire emigrants, through the use of parish registers. A search of this type presents many difficulties: lost or otherwise unavailable parish registers precludes any complete check at all; considerable gaps in the registration of both baptisms and burials during the years 1640 to 1660, and the commonness of many emigrant surnames further hinders the analysis. Hence, ages at the time of enrollment could be determined for only 34 of the 70 men and women comprising the sample group.

Yet, the age structure of even this rather limited group reveals a basic similarity to that of the earlier Wiltshire emigrants. The only marked difference between the two groups is in the under-16 age group. This does not mean that few children emigrated during the latter half of the seventeenth century. In

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[7]The manuscript, in two large volumes, is kept at the Bristol Archives Office at the Council House in Bristol (hereafter cited as BAO, Servants to Foreign Plantations). The earlier entries of the first volume (which covers the years 1654 to 1663) contain the date of enrollment, servant's name and place of origin, master's name, destination, term of service, and conditions of service. Such details begin to thin out considerably after 1660.

There is a published transcription of the record, but it gives only names, destination, and village or town (no county) of origin, and is often in considerable error. See N. Dermott Harding, ed., Bristol and America (Baltimore, 1967).

TABLE 5

AGES OF WILTSHIRE EMIGRANTS, 1635-1660

From	under 16 (child)	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	over 40	total known	total unknown
Wilts., 1635-8	26	6	9	12	5	2	4	64	45
Wilts., 1654-60	5	8	7	10	3	-	-	34	36

fact, a recent study of early Virginia has demonstrated that most children emigrated without indentures, and thus would not have been recorded among other Bristol servants.[8] That most of the emigrants were young adults is not surprising in light of what we know about both the ages of migrants in general and the age structure of the seventeenth-century population.[9] Indeed, it is clear that the whole plan of indentured service was designed with the young man and woman in mind.[10]

Those who left Wiltshire to indenture themselves as servants in the American colonies were, moreover, largely male, and overwhelmingly single. That they were male certainly conforms to what we found to be true of the earlier New England-bound emigrants as well as emigrants of later periods. There has always been a tendency for long-distance migrants (and emigrants) to be largely male,[11] and the seventeenth-century colonists were no exception.

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[8]Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery--American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New Yok, 1975), p. 216. Morgan used Norfolk County (Virginia) court records, 1662-1680, and concluded that the median age of servants who emigrated from England without indentures was 15-16.

[9]See above, pp. 9-11.

[10]The indenture system has been so fully treated elsewhere that only a brief definition is required here. Under the indenture terms, a prospective colonist agreed to serve a master in one of the colonies for a period of years, in return for free passage across the Atlantic and certain "freedom dues" at the time the term of service expired. See A. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, for the best analysis of the way in which the servant traffic was carried on.

[11]Hollingsworth, Migration, p. 122.

Women made up only twenty-five per cent of the two groups which left Wiltshire during the period 1635 to 1660, a figure that corresponds closely to that of the entire 10,000 who left between 1654 and 1685.[12] Male-dominated emigrations such as this inevitably had repercussions in those New World colonies which received these servants. In seventeenth-century Virginia, a colony dependent on immigration as a source of demographic growth, the sex ratio has been estimated to have been something like 330-410 men to 100 women. The implications of this imbalance have not completely been worked out, but it must have retarded population growth to a considerable extent.[13]

Perhaps the most salient feature of the 1650's emigration is that it was comprised overwhelmingly of unmarried men and women. There were a few married couples who emigrated together, as a Cheshire couple did in November, 1655. And a few married men may have left their families behind, intending to bring them to the colonies once their term of indenture expired. Such was the

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[12]Campbell, "Social Origins," 71. She found that approximately 25 per cent of the entire Bristol group were women. It is interesting that the sex ratio of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century vagrants in England was basically the same. See Beier, "Vagrants and the Social Order," 7; Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy," 366.

[13]See W. F. Craven, White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian (Charlottesville, Va., 1971), pp. 26-8. Craven feels that the imbalanced sex ratio was the primary cause of the different levels of population in New England and the Chesapeke society at the end of the seventeenth century. Edmund Morgan has qualified Craven's figures somewhat, but still regards the sex ratio to have been between 3 to 1 and 4 to 1. Morgan, American Slavery--American Freedom, pp. 405-07. Moreover, Richard Dunn has demonstrated that male-dominated immigration to the West Indies created a marked sex imbalance in several islands, a situation which began to rectify itself only in the late seventeenth century. See

case, evidently, of John Somerset of Urchfont in Wiltshire, who in 1656 emigrated to Barbados, but provided his wife and two children with a cottage, about four acres of land, and £3 sterling. Finally, there were apparently some who left wives unprovided for.[14] But, such cases were rare. On the whole, the emigrants were mainly single, much more commonly so than those who left during the 1630's. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but it may have something to do with the nature of the indenture plan itself. The practice of married couples emigrating together under indenture was discouraged because of complications likely to arise once the couple reached America.[15] That there were more married couples and whole families among the groups of 1630's emigrants does not, however, mean that the emigration to New England was necessarily peculiar or unique. Groups which emigrated to Pennsylvania during the 1680's exhibited a remarkably similar sex ratio and marital status to that of the Wiltshire group which left during the "Puritan Hegria" of the 1630's.[16]

Richard S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713 (New York, 1972), pp. 326-7.

[14]The information concerning John Somerset was gathered from a petition of the Churchwardens and Overseas of Urchfont to the J. P.'s of Wiltshire. WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Hilary 1660.

[15]See Campbell, "Social Origins," 75.

[16]For a list of families entering Philadelphia between 1682 and 1687, see Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 8(1884), 328-40. This particular emigration like that of the 1630's, was made up of mostly single males and females, a smaller but significant number of married couples, and a great many children.

Though they were not nearly as extensive as those of the 1630's emigration, kinship ties did play a part in the movement of the 1650's. There were at least five sibling groups among the Wiltshire emigrants, including John and Frances Scudamore, children of a Trowbridge shoemaker who had moved his family from Southampton in in 1630.[17] Kinship ties were perhaps more substantial than this, but unless more intensive research is carried out, they will remain uncovered, and a full appreciation of the importance of this as a factor in the pattern of migration will remain a mystery.

Certainly the bond of neighborhood was as much an ingredient of the emigration of the 1650's from Wiltshire as it was of the earlier period. Even a cursory reading of the list of emigrants in Appendix B reveals several clear instances of group emigration from various towns and villages. It is especially interesting that the greater the distance between the parish of origin and Bristol, the greater the likelihood of emigrants leaving in groups. Most of those from Salisbury, Fisherton Anger, Amesbury, Burbage, and Ludgershall, for instance, travelled together, were often indentured on

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[17]See Appendix B. The information concerning the Scudamores of Trowbridge was gathered from Diocese of Salisbury Record Office (hereafter DRO), Consistory Court, Deposition Book #55 (1637-8), Deposition of John Skydmore (Scudamore). The question of geographic mobility before emigration, or as a background to the decision to emigrate, is an interesting one. How many of the emigrants to America had experienced long-distance internal migration before they decided to pick up roots again and settle overseas? Answers to this question as they relate to individual emigrants are rare, but the deposition records-- which contain biographical particulars --give some impressions of the mobility of the population as a whole. Of the 1,200 or so people who deposed from 1615 to 1640 before the Consistory Court of Sarum, slightly less that one-half (625) no longer resided in their parish of birth. See Section II for further analysis of the deposition records.

the same day, and more often than not were bound to the same master. Many were also destined for the same colony. Though no systematic analysis of the Wiltshire emigrants' subsequent pattern of settlement in the colonies was attempted, it would be interesting to determine if that pattern was as strongly affected by bonds of neighborhood as was that of the earlier New England colonists.[18]

As was characteristic of the earlier movement from Wiltshire, there was a unique concentration of the areas from which the emigrant of the 1650's were drawn. A look at Figure 3 reveals-- with the exception of Salisbury and vicinity --a marked concentration from the north and west of Wiltshire. This was due, in part, to proximity to the port of embarkation. Moreover, commercial ties between Bristol and northwest Wiltshire had always been strong and were continually being strengthened throughout the seventeenth century. The most important direction of the corn trade of Wiltshire had always been from market towns like Warminster and Devizes to Bristol. Apprenticeship records of Bristol reflect the resulting deep-seated and ancient pattern of local movement to that port.[19]

More interesting is the agrarian character and background of the areas from which the migrants were drawn. If one superimposes

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[18]Colonial land patent records, county court material, lists of tithables-- these are the types of records which must be used in such an investigation.

[19]John Patten's analysis of the Bristol apprenticeship enrollments, 1532-1542, shows that over 50 per cent of the apprentices were drawn from within a twenty-five mile radius of Bristol. Patten, Rural-Urban Migration, p. 34. My own analysis of that city's apprenticeship records, 1600-1658, suggests that nearly three-fourths of the 630 Wiltshire apprentices were drawn from the northwest of that county. BAO, Apprenticeship Enrollments, 1600-1658. For the commercial links between the areas, see Kerridge, "Agrarian Development of Wiltshire," 280.

Figure 4-- depicting the farming regions of Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Somerset --on Figure 3 it quickly becomes evident that forest-edge and pasture areas were major sources of recruits. One hundred and twelve came from the wood-pasture region in the square formed by Devizes, Bath, Shepton Mallet and Warminster alone. The recent work of Joan Thirsk and Alan Everitt has drawn attention to the increasing susceptibility of such forest and pastoral areas to economic dislocation. Rapid population growth and an overdependence on rural industries at the expense of corn-growing produced sporadic unemployment, misery, and perhaps a habit of mobility.[20] On the other hand, the champion or mixed farming districts within these counties-- the "Chalk" in Wiltshire, and Vale of Taunton in Somerset, for example --sent relatively few emigrants.

It is perhaps even more significant that, like those of the 1630's, the emigrants of the 1650's were drawn heavily from towns. Of the 204 emigrants from Wiltshire, 106 (over one-half) gave as their place of origin one of the proper towns of the county. These figures are very closely matched by those of Somerset and Gloucestershire, each of which sent nearly one-half from towns and cities.[21]

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[20] A more detailed analysis of the problems besetting these areas is forthcoming in Section II. See, also, Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History, pp. 80, 111, 409-12. The Frome-Selwood region of eastern Somerset and parts of western Wiltshire was notorious for its poverty and vulnerability to harvest failure. See, for example the complaints registered in 1631 in, PRO, State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I (hereafter cited as SP 16), vol. 185, fol. 40.

[21] The figures for Somerset are 169 out of 341; those for Gloucestershire are 118 out of 258.

FIGURE 3.--ORIGIN OF EMIGRANTS FROM WILTSHIRE, SOMERSET, AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1654-1660

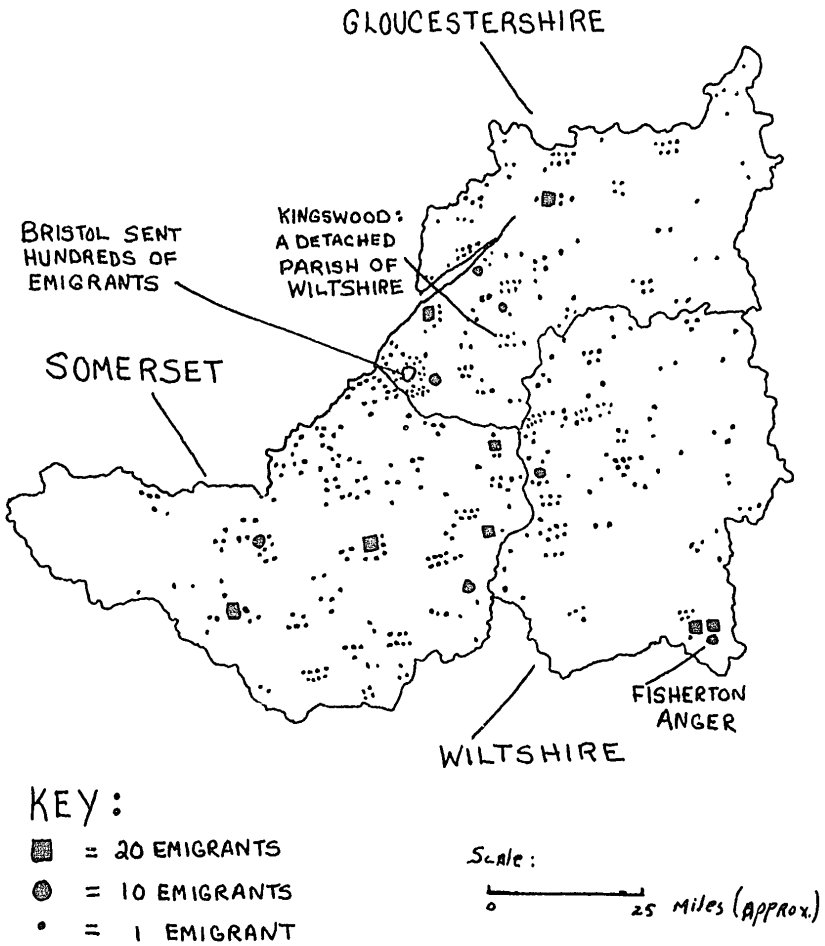
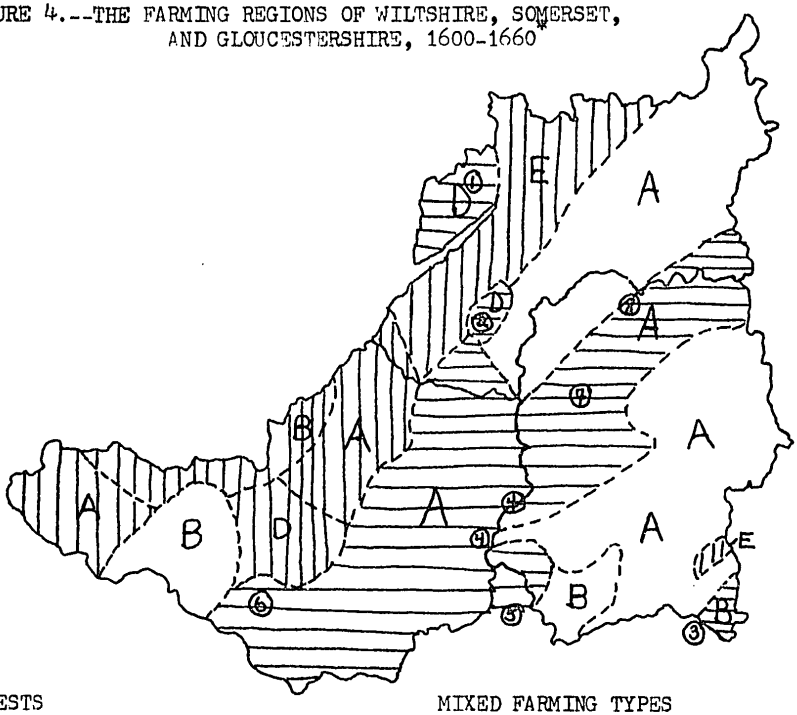


FIGURE 4.--THE FARMING REGIONS OF WILTSHIRE, SOMERSET, AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1600-1660



FORESTS

1. Forest of Dean
2. Kingswood Forest
3. New Forest
4. Selwood Forest
5. Gillingham Forest
6. Neroche Forest
7. Blackmore Forest
8. Bradon Forest

MIXED FARMING TYPES

A — Sheep & Corn (on downlands, wolds)

B — Corn & Stock (on clay vales)

PASTURE FARMING TYPES

Wood Pasture

A — Dairying & Pig-keeping

B — Stock-keeping with corn-growing

D — Stock-rearing & pig-keeping

Open Pasture

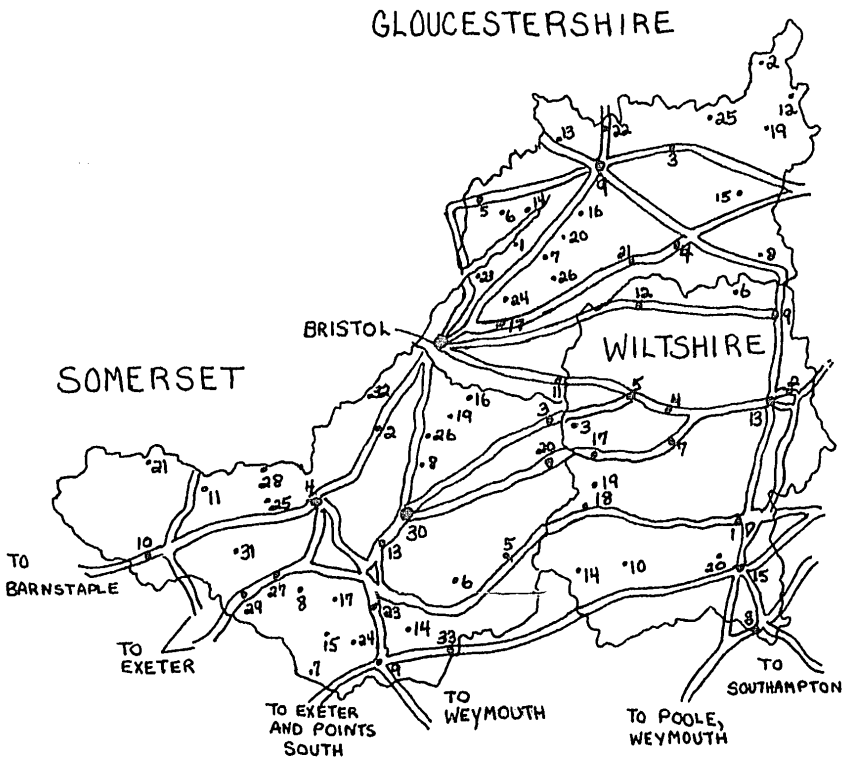
A — Cattle & Sheep-rearing (some dairying)

B — Rearing & Fattening

D — Stock-fattening, with horse-breeding, dairying

E — Dairying

FIGURE 5.--SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOWNS AND MAIN ROADS IN WILTSHIRE, SOMERSET, AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE



(Key to Figure 5 on following page)

Gloucestershire Towns

1. Barkley
2. Campden
3. Cheltenham
4. Cirencester
5. Colford
6. Dean
7. Dursley
8. Fairford
9. Gloucester
10. Hampton
11. Marshfield
12. Moreton
13. Newent
14. Newham
15. Northleach
16. Painswick
17. Sodbury
18. Stanley
19. Stow (-on-the-Wold)
20. Stroud
21. Tetbury
22. Tewkesbury
23. Thornbury
24. Wickwar
25. Winchcomb
26. Wotton (-under-Edge)

Somerset Towns

1. Arnhead
2. Axbridge
3. Bath
4. Bridgewater
5. Bruton
6. Castle Cary
7. Chard
8. Chuton
9. Crewkerne
10. Dulverton
11. Dunster
12. Frome
13. Glastonbury
14. Ilchester
15. Ilmister
16. Keynsham
17. Langport
18. North Curry
19. Pensford
20. Norton St. Philip
21. Porlock
22. Shepton Mallet
23. Somerton
24. South Petherton
25. Stogumber
26. Stowey
27. Taunton
28. Watchet
29. Wellington
30. Wells
31. Wiveliscombe
32. Wrinton
33. Yeovil

Wiltshire Towns

1. Amesbury
2. Aldbourne (Auburn)
3. Bradford (-on-Avon)
4. Calne
5. Chippenham
6. Cricklade
7. Devizes
8. Downton
9. Highworth
10. Hindon
11. (Market) Lavington
12. Malmesbury
13. Marlborough
14. Mere
15. Salisbury
16. Swindon
17. Trowbridge
18. Warminster
19. Westbury
20. Wilton
21. Wooton Bassett

*Figure 4 benefitted from the analysis of England's farming regions in Joan Thirsk, "The Farming regions of England," in Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, pp. 64-80. The outline of major roads depicted in Figure 5 is based on an Ordinance Survey of seventeenth-century England. The seventeenth-century towns of Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Somerset were identified by J. Adams, Index Villaris (London, 1680).

There is a possibility that these figures are swollen by the tendency to name the nearest town to a person's place of origin rather than a little-known village, especially if the emigrant was a long way from home. This may have been the case with those longer-distance emigrants from East Anglia, 19 (out of 26) of whom gave towns as places of origin.[22]

There are several reasons, however, for putting more faith in the urban origins of at least the Wiltshire emigrants. First of all, much care was taken to differentiate between villages and large towns when the former were in fact situated very close to the latter. For instance, ten people gave Fisherton Anger-- a village on the outskirts of Salisbury --as their place of residence. Secondly, there are several listings of town-dwellers which can be checked to ascertain the accuracy of that information. Of the seven emigrants who gave Warminster town as their place of origin, six appear on lists of householders compiled before the time of emigration. Moreover, a fairly comprehensive tax assessment of Salisbury includes the names of many of the emigrants from that town, or the names of their parents.[23] Even if the proportion of

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[22]It may also be that long-distance migrants (e.g. from places over 75 miles from Bristol) were more often urban creatures than short-distance ones, as was the case with seventeenth-century vagrants. See Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy," 375-6.

[23]The Warminster lists are part of the Longleat Ms. held at the WRO (ref. WRO 845/Manorial Bndl. 2). The lists dated 1642 and 1660 were particularly useful. The Salisbury tax list is in the PRO (ref. PRO E 179/199/419. Subsidy Assessment, Salisbury, 12 Charles II). The assessment was probably a result of a parliamentary statute-- 12 Charles II, cap. 9, 10 --empowering commissioners to assess all inhabitants of households (including servants and apprentices) over the age of 16. It is apparent, however, that a number of people escaped assessment, since only 2,943 individuals were named. If we assume that 45-50% of the population

townspeople is somewhat inflated, it is still remarkably high in a county mainly made up of villages.

There are several possible reasons for this high proportion of urban emigrants.[24] Contrary to a highly-regarded sociological "law,"[25] town-dwellers were arguably more migratory than more firmly-rooted country people. Towns in this period were often built on migration, upon the concept of improving one's lot by making a move into a place where opportunities were greater. Even the smallest towns probably had migrants, and if immigration took place, then why not out-migration? As has already been noted, moreover, many towns were in the process of change during this period, the consequences of which by no means benefitted all their inhabitants.

Perhaps the longest step toward an understanding of who these emigrants may have been was taken by Mildred Campbell, who concentrated her analysis on the occupational status of the servants who left, via Bristol, 1654-1660. Assusming that the occupations given were valid,[26] the results of her study-- as represented in Table 6 -- show that only about 14 per cent of the male servants who gave

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was below the age of 16, the figure still falls short (by 1,000) of the estimated population of Salisbury in the year 1660.

[24]A more complete investigation of motivation among urban migrants will be attempted in Section II.

[25]The "law" is that of E. G. Ravenstein, a nineteenth-century student of migration who believed that native townsmen were less migratory than those from rural parts. E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 48: 2 (June, 1885), 199.

[26]There is reason to believe that many of the occupations are valid as listed. The number and variety of skills recorded suggests accuracy: nearly 100 trades are recorded including button-makers, tuckers, apothecaries, needlemakers, etc.

TABLE 6

EMIGRANTS' OCCUPATIONS, 1630-1660

	1654-1660					1630's[c]		
	All[a]	Wilts.	Glos.	Som.	Distant[b]	Wilts.	S & W	E. Anglia & Kent
Gentry and Professional	1%	-	-	.5%	7%	1%	1%	1%
Artisans	33%	32%	31.8%	33%	49%	51%	48%	40%
Yeoman Husbandmen	52%[d]	(43) (2) 56%	(43) (2) 43.2%	(70) (6) 49.5%	(14) (1) 31%	10%	21%	14%
Laborers	14%	12%	25%	17%	13%	8%	1%	-
Servants	-	-	-	-	-	30%	29%	45%

[a]Based on Mildred Campbell's analysis of 2,366 emigrants who gave occupations, 1654-1660.

[b]Includes emigrants from Cornwall, Cheshire, Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Essex.

[c]See Table 4, p. 23.

[d]Campbell does not distinguish between yeomen and husbandmen in this analysis.

occupations were laborers. The largest single group were yeomen and husbandmen, with the yeomen greatly outnumbering the husbandmen, and the next largest group were the artisans and tradesmen, who in turn were outnumbered nearly two to one by the farmers. Yet, the figures in Table 6 suggest that there were some important regional variations. It is interesting, first of all, that the two counties closest to Bristol, Somerset and Gloucestershire, sent significantly higher proportions of laborers. More than anything else, this may reflect the attraction an expanding and prospering city could exert on the immediate countryside. It may be that lower social groups, including laborers, were attracted first to the city of Bristol itself, and only later to opportunities in the American plantations. Moreover, the greater proportion of craftsmen as well as gentry and professional groups among the emigrants from more distant counties is intriguing. Perhaps this was due to the unusual number of emigrants with urban backgrounds from those areas (see p. 45). But, one must also consider the possibility that the emigrants from more distant areas were of higher social rank than those closer to the port of embarkation. If this is so, it would conform to a theory widely-held among sociologists who have studied migrational patterns over the centuries.[27]

Nonetheless, the figures in Table 6 represent impressive evidence that, at least in terms of occupational status, the

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[27]Hence, Everitt Lee has recently noted that "as distance of migration increases, the migrants become an increasingly superior group." Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," in Jackson, ed., Migration, p. 296. In suggesting this possibility, I am assuming that distance between place of origin and port of embarkation is a key factor in the whole process of emigration.

emigration of the 1650's was very different from that of the 1630's to New England. Whereas the earlier movement was largely one of urban craftsmen, the later seems to have been one in which the agricultural segment of the population was predominant.

The question one has to consider is why did so many yeomen decide to emigrate to the colonies during the 1650's? Why did a group which made up only approximately 8 per cent of the population of Gloucester in the early seventeenth century send so many (43.2%) from the same county as emigrants?[28] One could conclude, as Mildred Campbell did, that such agricultural groups had fallen upon generally hard times, particularly those from the West Country.[29] Or, it seems to me, one might conclude that the label "yeomen" may be misleading, or worse yet, meaningless for our purposes.

How accurate is the label as it was used to describe so many of the Wiltshire emigrants? Is the occupational mix of Wiltshire emigrants as represented in Table 6 misleading? One certainly would have expected more craftsmen and artisans to have made the journey during the 1650's, considering the preponderance of townsmen, especially from Salisbury, in the group.[30] Instead, there was a considerable number of self-styled "yeomen" who emigrated from towns of not only Wiltshire, but Somerset and Gloucestershire as well.

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[28]This is an estimate by A.J. and R.H. Tawney in their analysis of the 1608 muster list of Gloucestershire. A. J. and R. H. Tawney, "An Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century," Economic History Review, 1st ser., 5 (Oct, 1934), 59.

[29]Campbell, "Social Origins," 82-3.

[30]See p. 41, above.

TABLE 7

GEOGRAPHIC ORIGINS OF EMIGRANT-YEOMEN, 1654-1660

	Wiltshire "Yeomen"	Gloucestershire "Yeomen"	Somerset "Yeomen
From Towns:	22	22	28
From Villages:	16	15	36
From Unidentified areas[a]	5	6	6

[a]These were places which are not readily identifiable through the use of modern gazeteers and place-name studies.

Although seventeenth-century towns did include some rural elements, including yeomen, among their populations, their numbers were relatively small. Peter Clark found that yeomen made up only seven per cent of the deposing population of Canterbury, Faversham, and Maidstone in Kent during the years 1580-1640; Tawney found less than four per cent among the populations of the three largest towns of Gloucestershire in 1608.[31] Finally, an analysis of a sample of 240 wills of Wiltshire townsmen who indicated their occupations, 1640-1680, shows that only twenty-nine (12%) were yeomen.[32]

[31] Clark's figures are based on his analysis of 1,173 biographies-- constructed through the use of Church court depositions -- of residents of these towns. See P. Clark, "The Migrant in Kentish Towns," p. 121. Tawney found that only 3.9 per cent of those from Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Cirencester gave their occupations as either yeomen, husbandmen, agricultural laborers or servants-in-husbandry. A. J. and R. H. Tawney, "An Occupational Census," 36.

[32] The wills I investigated included 74 from Warminster, 113 from Devizes, and 53 from Chippenham. Of the three, Warminster had the greatest percentage of yeomen-- 18 per cent. The sources used

In her magesterial study of the yeomanry during the Elizabethan and early Stuart period, Mildred Campbell defines the yeomen as a group "occupied primarily with the land and its interests," and as a distinctly "rural, agricultural group."[33] It is clear, however, that many of the yeomen-town-dwellers from Wiltshire showed little, if any, such interest in husbandry. Eighteen out of a sample of 38 wills and inventories of seventeenth-century yeomen from various towns of Wiltshire that I studied gave no evidence of lands, leases for lands, grains, significant holdings of livestock, or even the basic tools of husbandry![34] Hence, one must express at least some

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were the indexes to probate material housed at the Wiltshire County Record Office in Trowbridge.

[33]Campbell, The English Yeomen, pp. 26-7.

[34]The yeomen-town-dwellers wills and inventories studied were as follows: PRO, Prob 11/137/56 Dale. Will of Anthony Morse, Feb., 1621; PRO, Prob 11/216/97 Grey. Will of Robert Shergoll, May, 1651: PRO, Prob 11/220/33 Bowyer. Will of William Hawker, May, 1652; PRO, Prob 11/240/402. Will of John Adlam, sen., 1654; PRO, Prob 11/234/94. Will of Thomas Aldridge, 14 June, 1654; PRO, Prob 11/249/368. Will of John Turner, 4 May, 1655; PRO, Prob 11/252/1[illegible]. Will of John Norris, 17 Jan., 1656; PRO, Prob 11/299/123. Will of John Gollege, 19 July, 1660; Henry Robinson, Cons. Sarum, 4 Oct., 1633; John Norrice, Arch. Sarum, 10 Oct., 1639; Roger Stevens, Arch. Sarum, 3 Nov., 1641; Thomas Wheeler, Arch. Sarum, 17 Aug., 1642; John Harmon, Arch. Sarum, 2 Nov., 1643; John Coombe, Arch. Sarum, 2 Nov., 1643; Richard Titcombe, Arch. Sarum, 18 Aug., 1669; John Richmond, Arch. Sarum, 26 Feb., 1680: William Wheeler, Arch. Sarum, 27 Mar., 1682; Joshua Bath, Arch. Sarum, 9 May, 1683; Philip Burges, Cons. Sarum, 17 Sept., 1644; William Eyres, Cons. Sarum, 5 Aug., 1644; Nicholas Biggood, Peculiar Court of the Precentor of Sarum (hereafter cited as Pec., Ct. of Prec. Sarum), Sept., 1641; Hugh Wath, Pec. Ct. of Prec. Sarum, Oct., 1671; Richard Symes, Pec. Ct. of Prec. Sarum, Oct., 1677; John Godby, Cons. Sarum, 23 Apl., 1639; William Pery, Cons. Sarum, 21 Dec., 1685: Thomas Powell als. Plummer, Cons. Sarum, 20 Nov., 1660; William Powell, Cons. Sarum, 10 Sept., 1680; Thomas Lowes, Cons. Sarum, 20 Dec., 1645; John Long the elder, Cons. Sarum, 10 Oct., 1684; Robert Aland, Arch. Wilts., 19 Nov., 1675; Thomas Steward, Cons. Sarum, 18 Mar., 1647; Simon Bluke, Arch. Wilts., 8 May, 1673; Richard Phelpes, Arch. Wilts., 22 Oct., 1670; Henry Farnwell als. Gouldney, Arch. Wilts., 15 Apl., 1641; Thomas Lanfier, Arch. Wilts., 9 July, 1673; William

doubt concerning both the validity and the meaningfulness of the term used to describe so many of the emigrants from urban areas during the 1650's. Even if these emigrants were realy yeomen, there is good reason to believe that they were not primarily farmers.

There is further, more direct evidence which throws considerable doubt on the accuracy of the label as an actual vocation pursued by the bulk of the Wiltshire emigrants. Henry Snelling of Trowbridge and Thomas Smith of Warminster, for example, were much too young at ages 15 and 19 respectively, to deserve the label "yeoman."[35] Moreover, a valuation of principal landholdings in the parish of Box compiled in October, 1654 makes no mention of either John Hendy or John Ellison, both self-styled yeomen who emigrated in 1659 and 1659. The document includes fifty-three householders whose assessed wealth ranged from £648 to £1, and many of whom were truly yeomen. If the two emigrants were actually substantial farmers, it seems they would have been included.[36]

What was the occupational status of these emigrants, then, if they were not yeomen? This is a difficult, if not impossible, question to answer. Perhaps they were petty clothiers, as Herbert

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Arnold, Sub-dean Sarum (5), 17 May, 1661; John Jupe, Sub-dean Sarum (3), 17 Apl., 1615; Richard Bassett, Sub-dean Sarum (4), 16 Feb., 1632.

[35]See Appendix B.

[36]WRO 894.4/15-17. The list is entitled, "A Valuacon of every psons liveing in Box, Ditchridge and Haselbury," and is dated 23 October, 1654. There is no way of knowing how comprehensive the assessment is, but it does seem to include the chief landholders of the parish.

Heaton found to be the case of many self-styled yeomen of the West Riding of Yorkshire.[37] More likely, they were young apprentices who had left the service of a master to find employment across the Atlantic, or former "servants-in-husbandry" who had not the means to acquire land and housing of their own. It should not be too surprising that such individuals seized the opportunity to lift their status a notch or two on their way to America.[38] Whatever the case, it is no longer certain that the emigration of the 1650's included so much of the agricultural segment of the population, or that it was so different, in this respect, from the emigration of the 1630's.

Any attempt to compare the latter group's financial position on the eve of emigration with that of the 1650's group is hindered by the same problems encountered earlier.[39] It is even more difficult to determine the material well-being of the 1650's emigrants, in part because of the almost complete lack of information regarding individual emigrants, and because proportionally far fewer people even gave their occupation (52%) than did those in the earlier movement (77%).

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[37]Herbert Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries, from the Earliest Times up to the Industrial Revolution, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1966), p. 93.

[38]In September, 1658, Stephen Barrow confessed that he and a fellow servant left the service of their master at Clapton, Somerset, and went to Bristol intending to emigrate to Virginia. Runaway servants such as these obviously would want to disguise their true status from the Bristol authorities, for fear of being returned. Those who had completed their terms of service had less reason to hide their true status, except as an attempt to make themselves more attractive to those who were to pay their passage to the colonies. E. H. Bates-Harbin, ed., Quarter Sessions Records, Commonwealth, 1646-1660 (Somerset), Somerset Record Society, vol. 28 (London, 1912), pp. 358-9.

[39]See pp. 22-9, above.

At first sight, there appears to be a basic difference in the financial positions between the two groups of Wiltshire emigrants: those who left in the 1650's went as indentured servants and thus had their passage paid for them. But, can we assume from this that the 1650's emigrants could not afford their own fares when they decided to emigrate? Before the question can be answered we need to know more than we do about other available means of emigration during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Was there a continuing movement of "free" settlers to the colonies during this same period? More importantly, we need to know more about the availability of cheap land in the colonies--land unencumbered by preconditions of the performance of service for a term of years. In lieu of such vital information, one must turn to the occupational listings and scraps of admittedly sporadic evidence in order to get an impression of socio-economic status.

The overall impression one gets of the probable well-being of those who left in the 1650's as indentured servants is that it was not so terribly different from that of the 1650's group. There were, it seems, more laborers in the 1650's movement, but certainly not a disproportionate number when one considers that eleven per cent of Gloucestershire townwellers listed their occupations as laborers in 1608.[40] In fact, Table 8 reveals an

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[40] A. J. and R. H. Tawney, "An Occupational Census," 36. Only 12 per cent of the Wiltshire emigrants were laborers (see Table 6).

occupational distribution of the 1650's emigrant-craftsmen which compares most favorably with that of the earlier artisans who emigrated to New England. The only noticeable difference between the two is the greater number of men involved in the textile industry (weavers, fullers, dyers, tuckers) among the 1650's group. This, however, is to be expected when one considers again the geographic origins of the latter group: more prospective colonists were drawn from the cloth-working towns and villages located in the north and west of Wiltshire during the 1650's than had been during the earlier period.[41]

TABLE 8

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MALE EMIGRANT-CRAFTSMEN FROM WILTSHIRE, 1635-1660

	1635-38	1654-60
Gentry	-	-
Professional	1	-
Clothing Trades	5	4
Leather Trades	6	2
Food and Drink	1	1
Textile Industry	5	11
Metal-working	-	-
Distributive Trades	1	1
Building Trades	3	3
Miscellaneous Trades	1	2
Total	23	24

[41]See the following section (pp. 65-82) for a fuller discussion of the location and course of the Wiltshire cloth industry, as well as the relevance of the decline of that industry as a reason for emigration.

Moreover, the available bits of evidence concerning the probable well-being of certain individual emigrants suggest a pattern not dissimilar to that of the New England-bound group. There were some, such as Matthew Perry and Robert Miller of Salisbury, whose position on the eve of emigration may have been as precarious as it had been in 1635 when they and their parents received poor relief. Others, such as Huddy Harris of Corsham and John Dickery of Salisbury, came from far wealthier backgrounds, and may have been in better financial positions than many of the rest.[42] Most, however, were probably from families of "middling" wealth and station. An unusual (and not entirely reliable) land tax assessment for Salisbury suggests this to have been true of at least five of the emigrants from that town-- Cicely Poore, John Bishop, William Austen, Jane Stevens, and James Kelloway.[43]

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[42] For the information on Miller and Perry, see SMA, Misc. Papers, Listing of Salisbury Poor, 1635. Huddy Harris was the son of a gentleman from Corsham of the same name who was assessed a rather substantial subsidy rate in 1641. See WRO 118/163. Subsidy Book, Hundreds of Chippenham, Malmesbury, etc., 16 Charles I. John Dickery was the son of Hugh, a very successful innkeeper and vintner of Salisbury who left considerable bequests at his death in March, 1667. See, WRO, Will of Hugh Diggery (Dickery), Cons. Sarum, 13 March, 1667. The elder Dickery also was assessed for 7 hearths in 1662, a figure which reflects his financial well-being. PRO, E 179/259/26b. An account of hearths in Martin's Ward and New Street Ward, Sarum, 14 Charles II.

[43] The parents of all five held property (usually leaseholds) evaluated in 1649 as follows: John Stevens-- £1 10s.; Edward Bishop-- £1 10s.; George Austen-- £1; Henry Kelloway-- £1 5s.; and Christopher Poore-- £3. SMA, Box 14, No. 3. Land Tax Assessments, 1649. Assessments of urban property cannot always be used as accurate guages of either absolute income or wealth, but they do give some indication of relative socio-economic status. For instance, the median range of valuations on the 1649 Salisbury list is £1 to £3. Hence my conclusion that the emigrants were from families of average wealth.

In summary, it appears that the Wiltshire emigrants of the 1650's had a great deal in common with those who emigrated to America twenty years previously. Emigrants of both periods were relatively young and predominantly male-- characteristics they share with migrants in general. Moreover, the bulk of the emigrants had common urban backgrounds; a great many of the rest were from similar forest and pasture regions of the county. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the emigration to New England and that to Virginia and the West Indies is that both were comprised of people who were not primarily farmers, but craftsmen and tradesmen of all sorts. The only real difference between the two groups is the absence of household units among the 1650's emigrants. Whether this difference, as well as the many similarities, between the two movements can be explained in terms of differences and/or similarities in motivation is one of the questions to which we must now turn.

SECTION II

MOTIVATION

A. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Recent studies of early modern migratory movements generally end after the type of analysis presented in the previous section. In studies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century vagrancy and urban immigration, as well as seventeenth-century emigration to America, the question of motivation is relegated to summary accounts of migrant qualities such as age, sex, marital status, and geographic origin. Certainly, this is not enough. By answering the question "who went", analyses of personal characteristics help separate the migrants from the rest of the population; they tell us what part of the population was most likely to pull up roots and move. As we shall see, they also can be suggestive of motivation to a degree. Yet, they never entirely explain the decision to emigrate, which is often influenced by strictly local, sometimes highly personal factors. It is to this question of motivation that this section is devoted.

One sociologist of migration, R. C. Taylor, suggests that those interested in understanding motives are confronted with three alternative approaches: (1) either accept the migrants' own statements; or (2) infer motives from a study of objective structural determinants, and then impute motives to the individual migrants; or (3) combine the two.[1]

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[1]R. C. Taylor, "Migration and Motivation: A Study of Determinants and Types," in Jackson, ed., Migration, pp. 99-100.

In the present study, the first and third alternatives are precluded by an utter lack of emigrants' diaries, memoirs, or correspondence which may have served as statements of motives. Even if there were such records, one would face the difficult problem of differentiating between "real" and "stated" motives. For example, the Puritan curate of Rowley, Yorkshire, Ezechiel Rogers, made a will, saying that he and scores of families were "driven" out of the East Riding by Archbishop Neile's sustained oppression in general, and "that accursed Book of Sports" in particular.[2] If such a statement was accepted at face value, one might carelessly conclude that all those who left the East Riding for New England at approximately the same time as Rogers, did so only for religious reasons. Such a conclusion necessarily over-simplifies the complex decision to emigrate.

One is left, then, with the second alternative of inferring motives from a study of objective structural determinants-- population growth, rents and prices, harvest failures, disease, condition of industry, political and religious pressures --as they affected those areas marked by heavy emigration. The basic problem with this approach is that it assumes what sociologists call "the maximization of want-satisfaction," or that every individual will react to impersonal forces besetting a particular area in a purposive, rational manner. Above all, it neglects the more personal, less "rational," reasons for emigration. Factors including family quarrels, neighborhood squabbles such as that in which Henry Webb of Salisbury

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[2]Rogers' will and testament is printed in NEGHR, 5(1851), 125-8.

was involved,[3] or simply a sense of adventure may have figured in the decision to emigrate, yet are very difficult, if not impossible, to document. Moreover, personal tragedies like the death of parents may have provided the stimulus. Such may have been the case with both Richard Biddlecomb of Sutton Mandeville and Thomas Thatcher of Salisbury in the 1630's.[4] It is also entirely possible that the number of sibling groups which left Wiltshire did so for no other reason than to keep family ties intact. All of these are grounds for emigration, but ones which would not be revealed in an analysis of more impersonal factors.

Yet, despite this drawback and in lieu of any written statements of motives, Taylor's second alternative remains the best to pursue. Hence it is my intention to analyze, as fully as possible, the bearing of economic, political, and religious factors on both the particular Wiltshire towns and the particular forest and pasture regions which sent the overwhelming majority of emigrants to America between 1630 and 1660. If nothing else, it will allow a

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[3] In 1631, Henry Webb of St. Edmund's parish, Salisbury, was seriously slandered by Edward Downes, a fellow parishioner who accused Webb of having "gotten a mayd with child. . . and having sent her away to London." Webb took the case to the church courts where litigation dragged on for several years. See DRO, Consistory Court Depositions, Bk. # 46(1631), deposition of Robert Good; DRO, Bishop of Salisbury, Citations, 1631.

[4] According to the Bishop's Transcripts of the Sutton Mandeville parish register, Richard Biddlecomb's father and mother died in 1628-9, when he was only seven years old. He emigrated in April, 1638. Thomas Thatcher, son of Peter Thatcher (Rector of St. Edmund's, Salisbury) and nephew of Anthony Thatcher (the emigrant) probably joined his uncle in New England shortly after the death of his father, late in 1640. His mother had died in March, 1634. See DRO, St. Edmund's parish register.

test of the generalizations which traditionally have been made by historians of the seventeenth-century emigration to America.

B. THE URBAN BACKGROUND

Seventeenth-century Wiltshire was by no means an urbanized county. This is no startling admission; residents of towns and cities comprised a mere quarter of the national population, even a half-century later. In fact, only London, Norwich and a few other cities afforded an "urban environment" in any meaningfully modern sense. Yet, it does appear that even small communities of a thousand or so inhabitants had an urban identity in the eyes of both town and country men, and that the urban-rural distinction, so familiar to the twentieth-century observer, did have some substance even in the early modern period. Hence, when Gregory King sought to classify towns by population in 1696, he distinguished nearly 800 of them from rural villages.[1]

Wiltshire itself contained a fairly large number of what have been called "simple towns." Included in this group are such developing market and industrial centers as Warminster, Bradford-on-Avon, Trowbridge, and Swindon, as well as such stagnant, small

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[1] On Gregory King's population estimates and ranking of late seventeenth-century towns, see D. V. Glass, "Two Papers on Gregory King," in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, eds., Population in History (London, 1965), pp. 159-220. Another contemporary of King who carefully distinguished between villages and towns was John Adams, Index Villaris (London, 1680). For the best modern attempt to provide a theoretical framework for the ranking of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century towns and cities, see Slack and Clark's Introduction in Crisis and Order in English Towns, pp. 1-56. The following classification of Wiltshire towns owes much to their analysis.

corporate towns as Wilton and Malmesbury.[2] One of the few common denominators of this group of towns was low population size and density. Most of these "simple" towns had between 150 and 200 houses, none with populations that exceeded 3,000 in 1660.[3] All of them, moreover, retained strong rural characteristics. Trowbridge, for example, supplied more beef and hay to the Chalfield Parliamentary Garrison in 1645 than any other community in Wiltshire, suggesting that the town was still very pastoral. The countryside crept to the back-doors of houses there as well as in Warminster.[4] Few of these towns exhibited an elaborate political superstructure. The political organization of the small corporate town of Westbury was only slightly more complex than that of still-manorial Warminster and Trowbridge.[5]

Of all the Wiltshire towns, perhaps only Marlborough and Salisbury display features which would place them in what Slack and Clark call the "middle tier" of urban society of the period. Probably the greatest difference between these two chartered towns

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[2]With the exception of Salisbury and Marlborough, all of the Wiltshire towns depicted in Fig. 1 (p. 16 above) can be classified as "simple" towns.

[3]See Appendix C.

[4]J. H. P. Pafford, ed., Accounts of the Parliamentary Garrisons of Chalfield and Malmesbury, 1645-1646, Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Records Branch (Devizes, 1940), pp. 40, 64. As late as 1671, Trowbridge retained a strong rural character, as shown by a glebe terrier of that year printed in W. H. Jones, "Early Annals of Trowbridge," Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine (hereafter cited as W.A.M.), 15(1875), 226-29. On Warminster, see Rev. John J. Daniell, The History of Warminster (London, 1879), pp. 98-9.

[5]VCH, Wilts., VII, p. 148; VCH, Wilts., VIII, pp. 128-9, 186.

was quantitative. Both Marlborough and Salisbury had between 300 and 500 houses each, with populations that ranged between 5,000 and 7,000,[6] and both exhibited a sophisticated economy which combined industry, trade, and some services.

One characteristic shared by all Wiltshire towns was that each had a market. Through painstaking research, Alan Everitt has identified about 750 market towns in Tudor and Stuart England, scattered throughout the countryside. His analysis reveals that, like most English market centers, Wiltshire market towns were becoming increasingly specialized: grains were sold at Marlborough, Salisbury, Warminster, Westbury, and Market Lavington; cattle at Bradford-on-Avon, Devizes, Highworth, Hindon, and Swindon; and cheese at Marlborough. Moreover, he has shown that the market towns were not simply trade centers. They provided the foci of rural life around them where farmers could meet, hear the news, listen to sermons, etc. The craftsmen ministered primarily to the needs of the dependent villages, further underscoring the close interdependence between the towns and the surrounding countryside.[7]

Another important feature which was shared by at least half of the seventeenth-century Wiltshire towns was their connection with the cloth industry.[8] Though the cloth-producing population of

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[6]See Appendix C.

[7]Alan S. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History, pp. 467-75, 488-9, 589-92. Besides the 21 Wiltshire towns, Everitt identifies Castle Comb and Maiden Bradley as market centers; neither of these can justifiable be called towns.

[8]The following section dealing with cloth production in Wiltshire during the seventeenth-century owes a great deal to G. D.

Wiltshire was by no means restricted to the towns, such urban centers as Salisbury, Devizes, Chippenham, Calne, Malmesbury, Bradford-on-Avon, Trowbridge, and Westbury were of particular importance in the woollen industry. On the other hand, while Warminster and Marlborough were located on the border of the textile-producing region, and while the industry did provide employment for many of its inhabitants, the output of cloth was comparatively slight.[9]

Traditionally, historians who postulate socio-economic reasons for the seventeenth-century emigration to America have given primary importance to the decline of the cloth industry in England during the first half of the century. Along with land hunger and insecurity of land tenures, the decline of the West Country textile industry is perceived by Mildred Campbell as a key factor in explaining the exodus of so many servants from Bristol during the 1650's. In probing for reasons why Englishmen were "so desperate . . .that they were ready to listen to suggestions that they depart the country" during the 1630's, Carl Bridenbaugh notes the industrial depression of those years.[10] Indeed, the cloth industry was vital to many town-dwelling Englishmen, and the disruptions

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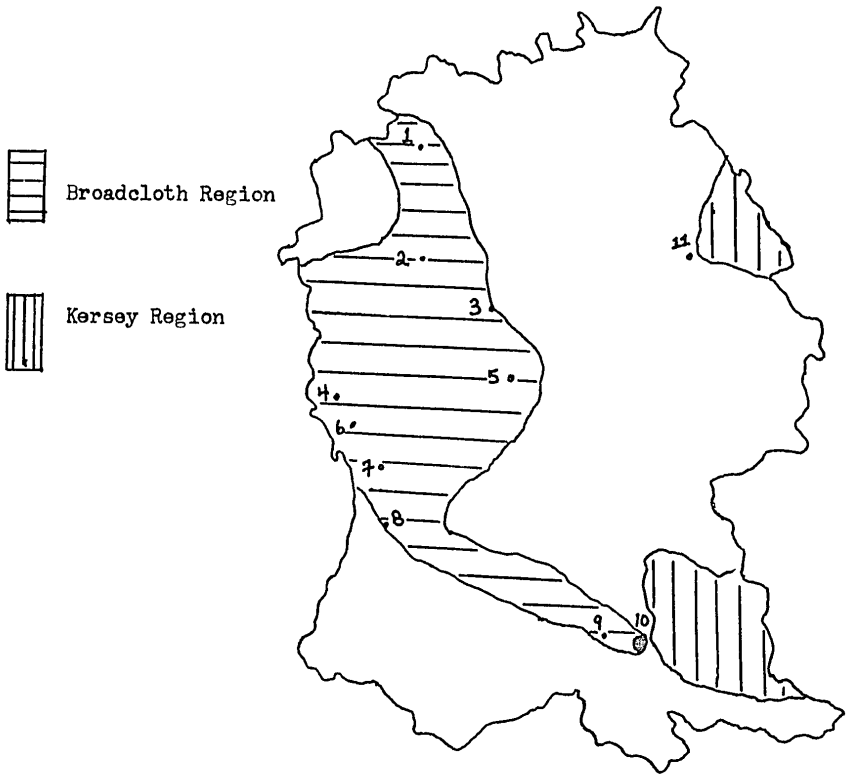
Ramsay's excellent study, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 2nd ed. (London, 1965).

[9]Unlike the broadcloth-producing towns in the western part of the county, Marlborough lay on the fringe of the Kersey area, and as a textile center was an outpost of the Reading and Newbury clothing district.

[10]Campbell, "Social Origins," pp. 84-5; Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled, Passim, Chap. 10. Campbell and Bridenbaugh are by no means alone in emphasizing this factor. Among others, see Wallace Notestein, The English People on the Eve of Colonization, 1603-1630, Harper Torchbooks (New York, 1962), p. 261; Powell, Puritan Village, p. 52.

FIGURE 6.--THE LOCATION OF THE WILTSHIRE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*



1. Malmesbury
2. Chippenham
3. Calne
4. Bradford (-on-Avon)
5. Devizes
6. Trowbridge
7. Westbury
8. Warminster
9. Wilton
10. Salisbury
11. Marlborough

*The map is based, in part, on that produced in G. D. Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 2nd ed. (London, 1965), p. ii.

that affected that industry were apparently so widespread that it is very easy to point to the depressions of the 1620's, 1630's, 1640's, and 1650's as a key factor in inducing emigration. But, is it too easy to do so? Did the depression in the textile industry affect all areas and individuals equally? Rather than making general statements about hard times in the clothmaking areas, perhaps it would be more fruitful to ask exactly which towns were adversely affected and how seriously, as well as which groups of workers were hit hardest, if at all.[11] A close examination of the Wiltshire woollen industry during the period, 1620-1660, may provide some answers to these questions, and at the same time help determine the relevance of the decline of the cloth industry as a major factor in the decision of hundreds of Wiltshiremen to emigrate to America.

There can be no doubt that the West of England broadcloth industry, of which the production of undyed cloth in Wiltshire was an integral part, suffered serious disruptions during the 1620's. Mainly as a result of manipulation and debasement of currencies on the Continent, as well as of major interruptions of trade caused by the Thirty Years' War,[12] a short, but severe, depression created hardship among nearly all groups of textile workers. In 1620, it was estimated that nearly 2,600 Wiltshire

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[11] T. H. Breen and Stephen Foster asked similar questions about the disruptions in the East Anglian cloth industry in their analysis of the factors which led to the 1637 emigration. Breen anf Foster, "Moving to the New World," 203-204.

[12] Barry E. Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600-1642 (Cambridge, 1959), Passim, Chap. 3.

textile workers were out of work; and in a letter to the Privy Council, the J. P.'s of Wiltshire reported the reception of a petition from a group of weavers at Bromham, Chippenham, and Calne, noting "many hundreds of loomes standing still."[13] A deficient grain harvest in the West in 1622 made that and the following year particularly difficult. Not only did the resulting scarcity of corn make it difficult for the unemployed in the cloth towns to pay the high price of bread, but it also deepened the depression by reducing domestic demand for cloth.[14] Hence, at Easter sessions 1623, the Wiltshire justices received more petitions from distressed spinners and weavers, as well as reports that corn had been seized by mobs on the way to market.[15]

Certain Wiltshire towns, traditional centers of the county's broadcloth industry, suffered greatly. At Devizes, there were complaints that the wages of clothworkers were sinking, and that "much poore want worke." Later, the Mayor and Common Council established a scheme, under the direction of the Governor of the House of Correction, to set the unemployed to work at spinning woollen yarn. Calne, Chippenham, Malmesbury, and Trowbridge fared no better during

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[13] PRO, S.P. 14/115/20,58.

[14] W. G. Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620-1759," Agricultural History Review, 16 (1968), 28. See also C. J. Harrison, "Grain Price Analysis and Harvest Qualities, 1465-1634," Agric. Hist. Rev., 19 (1971), 154. On the interrelationship of dearth and industrial depression, see P. Bowden, "Agricultural Prices, Farm Profits, and Rents," in Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History, pp. 631-2.

[15] HMC, Various, I, p. 194.

the 1620's.[16]

None, however, seem to have suffered as much as the county's largest town, Salisbury. Dearth and plague combined with the depression to produce severe distress in the 1620's. Officials estimated in 1623 and 1625 that from 2,700 to 3,000 inhabitants (of a population of about 6,500) were impoverished and in need of relief.[17] These figures were undoubtedly exaggerations, but a serious outbreak of the plague in 1627 brought them closer to reality. Nearly eight per cent of the town's population were buried in that year; many others fled the town, leaving the entire poverty problem in the hands of elected officials. Gloomily, the mayor of Salisbury wrote the county's J.P.'s that whereas not ten households remained which could offer alms, nearly 2,900 required some relief.[18]

Though nothing in the 1630's approached the bitter depression of the early 1620's, forces were already at work which precluded any real recovery of the broadcloth industry. Continued disruptions of trade from the wars with Spain and France, as well as sharp foreign competition accelerated the downward plunge. But the decline of the "Old Draperies" was indicative of more than

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[16]PRO, S.P. 14/138/54; B. Howard Cunnington, ed., Some Annals of the Borough of Devizes, 1535-1791 (Devizes, 1925), p. 81; Ramsay, Wiltshire Woollen Industry, pp. 3, 76; VCH, Wilts., VII, pp. 137-38.

[17]Paul Slack, "Poverty and Politics in Salisbury, 1597-1666," in Slack and Clark, eds., Crisis and Order, p. 171. Slack's chapter provides an excellent analysis of both Salisbury's poverty problem and the ways in which it was tackled by town officials.

[18]Ibid., pp. 171, 196; HMC, Various, I, pp. 96-7.

short-term difficulties. The producers of traditional broadcloths were, it seems, victims of one of those major changes in trade and fashion to which the textile industry has always been susceptible. The older "woollens" proper were being replaced in public favor by newer, lighter, and frequently cheaper fabrics. These were the so-called "New Draperies", cloths of the worsted-type manufactured from coarser, long staple wools, the English production of which was centered in East Anglia.

The worst sufferers, as always, were the white-cloth makers of the West Country. Many Wiltshire clothiers were abandoning their trade during the 1630's, much to the alarm of the central government. In 1634, the Privy Council ordered the Wiltshire justices to demand of the clothiers reasons for their action which had the undesirable effect of "impoverishing many poore people depending thereupon."[19]

In Salisbury, the depression continued into the 1630's, further swelling the ranks of the poor. Weavers and spinners complained of being "impoverished"; in 1631, a deponent before the Consistory Court of Sarum mentioned a "greate dampe and deadnes" in the broadcloth trade, a condition he attributed to the recently-ended war with France. Moreover, a number of poor weavers and clothworkers in 1635 petitioned for licences to sell bread, butter, cheese, and drink because of, as one weaver said, the recent decay

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[19]Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change, Passim, Chaps. 5-6; PRO, Privy Council Register, Charles I (hereafter cited as P.C. 2) 2 June, 1634-30-June, 1635, fol. 69r.; Ramsay, Wiltshire Woollen Industry, pp. 82-9.

of the cloth industry and the "badness of tradinge."[20]

Cloth producers in Salisbury clung to the production of white, undressed broadcloths, even though the market for them had been shrinking for decades. They did not venture into the manufacture of new products, serges and medleys, which were to prove the salvation of the textile industry elsewhere in the county.[21] As a result, the slump in Salisbury's textile industry continued into the 1640's and 1650's. Periodic outbreaks of plague, grain shortages, and plundering of the town in 1644 by Parliamentarian troops under Sir William Balfour only worsened the situation.[22]

Perhaps partly in response to the chronic decline of its broadcloth industry, the economic structure of Salisbury seems to have been changing during this period. Once a thriving industrial, mercantile community in which the production of cloth predominated,[23] it was becoming increasingly dependent on a reputation as a social center and a stopping place for travellers. As early as 1612,

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[20]DRO, Consistory Court. Depositions, Bk. No. 45, examination of Edward Page, clothier, March 1631; SMA, N100. Petitions to Sessions: petition of John Russell, clothworker; Thomas Williams, weaver; John Russell, weaver, all in 1635.

[21]See below, pp. 74-5.

[22]R. Benson and H. Hatcher, Old and New Sarum, or Salisbury (London, 1843), pp. 393-4, 397.

[23]Salisbury enjoyed its hey-day as a major industrial center from the fifteenth to the late sixteenth century. Ramsay, Wiltshire Woollen Industry, pp. 20-2. Towns like York and Coventry may have been experiencing a similar transition. Slack and Clark, Crisis and Order, pp. 11-12.

when a Freeman's list was compiled, the distributive and drink trades were already becoming as important as clothing and textile trades. This trend continued as the broadcloth industry declined further, and more weavers and clothworkers petitioned for licenses to sell food and drink.[24] As Table 9 shows, by mid-century those involved in the various food and drink trades were slightly more numerous than those who worked in textiles.

TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE MALE INHABITANTS OF SALISBURY AND CHIPPENHAM[a]

	Salisbury	Chippenham
Textiles	13 (20%)	17 (25%)
Clothing	9 (14%)	11 (17%)
Leather and Allied	7 (11%)	7 (10%)
Metal-working	3 (5%)	2 (3.5%)
Building and Allied	7 (11%)	3 (4%)
Food and Drink	14 (21%)	2 (3.5%)
Distribution and Transport	2 (2.5%)	3 (4%)
Laborers	2 (2.5%)	4 (6%)
Yeomen and Husbandmen	5 (7%)	10 (15%)
Miscellaneous	4 (6%)	8 (12%)
Totals	66	67

[a]The table was constructed through the use of the following sources: (a) Salisbury-- occupations given by male deponents before the Consistory Court of Sarum, 1615-41, 1662, 1665; (b) Chippenham-- occupations given in the parish register, 1653-4.

The transition from a major industrial center to one where retail and service trades predominated did not, however, necessarily

[24]See above, pp. 70-1 and note 20.

bring renewed prosperity to all of Salisbury's inhabitants. In fact, one can reasonably argue that such a shift, by reducing the demand for labor, further exacerbated the problems of under- and unemployment. Salisbury certainly continued to be burdened with an enormous poverty problem throughout the middle decades of the seventeenth century.[25] Town officials expressed alarm at the increase of pauperism in 1655 and again in 1659, when the poor were said to be "overgrowne and burthened." Weekly payments to the poor by the town's three parishes mounted steadily during the years 1657-1660, so that by the 1660's the town was faced with the same problems as had beset it in the first three decades of the century.[26]

Other towns like Malmesbury, Chippenham (see Table 9) and Wilton also clung stubbornly to the manufacture of broadcloth, and they too declined. During the 1640's, petitions from textile workers in these areas, complaining of chronic unemployment, poured into the hands of the county's J. P.'s.[27] The plight of Wilton folk was particularly bad during the period 1620-1660. From the later middle ages, the town had been losing trade and population to nearby Salisbury. By the mid-seventeenth century, with its main industry in decline, the town was a shadow of its former self.[28] At Devizes and Calne, where the manufacture of more profitable serges was only beginning to end the dominance of the broadcloth industry, unemployment

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[25]Slack, "Poverty and Politics," pp. 192-4.

[26]SMA, Ledger D, fols. 87, 117v; SMA, S162 (no foliation).

[27]Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry, pp. 3, 112-13.

[28]VCH, Wilts., IV, pp. 18, 23; WRO, Quarter Sessions, Order Bk. No. 2(1654-1668), Hilary 1660.

and poverty continued to be major problems during the middle decades of the century.[29]

Many of the Wiltshire clothing towns, however, adapted successfully to the trying conditions of the early decades of the century, and began to manufacture that product which was ultimately to rescue the Western woollen industry-- the new "Spanish" cloths.[30] The fabrication of these medley or "mingled" cloths firmly rooted itself in the Avon Valley, and along the Somerset-Wiltshire border during the 1620's. Throughout the 1630's this more profitable industry spread throughout northern and western Wiltshire becoming concentrated in Bradford-on-Avon, Trowbridge, Westbury, and Warminster. By 1640, this area's medley cloths comprised 22 per cent of all exports from London to Germany and the Netherlands, as compared with less than 4 per cent in 1628.[31]

The renewed prosperity of those towns which adapted themselves to the shrinking broadcloth market by turning to the production of new products was by no means uninterrupted. With the outbreak of the Civil War, the county quickly became a theater of war. This

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[29]"Serges" were made from long-haired wool which was combed but not carded before being spun, and the woven fabric was not always fulled. Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry, p. 110; VCH, Wilts., X, p. 255.

[30]The term "Spanish" cloth is an imprecise and confusing description which did not necessarily imply the use of imported Spanish wool. In fact, the cheaper kinds of this cloth were made entirely of English wool. The novelty of this cloth was that it was a well-made material of lighter weight than other cloths. See Julia de L. Mann, The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1640 to 1880 (Oxford, 1971), pp. xiv-xv.

[31]Ibid., pp. xvii, 8; Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry, pp. 102-6, 110-12, 114.

inevitably resulted in at least a temporary disruption of the textile industry. There were interruptions of the routine of county administration when the justices failed to meet at their quarter sessions.[32] The departure of a number of industrial workers to the wars caused some dislocation. More seriously, lines of communication with London, by far the most important export center for Western cloths, were interrupted at least until 1644, when the Malmesbury garrison fell to Parliament.[33]

One must not, however, exaggerate the extent of the disruption of the cloth industry because of the war. Quarter sessions again met regularly after 1645, and convoys to London from all parts of the West never entirely ceased. In fact, once the actual fighting was at an end, the producers of medleys were comparatively little interrupted in the progress of their industry. It was reported to to the J. P.'s that the spinning and burling of medley cloths at Westbury were keeping many poor families employed in 1657.[34] Despite some periodic setbacks,[35] Bradford-on-Avon and Trowbridge were both on their way to becoming two of the most important centers of

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[32]Easter and Trinity sessions of the county court did not meet in 1643; nor did Michaelmas and Hilary sessions in 1644; and in 1645, no quarter sessions at all were held.

[33]Mann, The Cloth Industry in the West of England, p. 3.

[34]WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Easter 1657. "Burling" was a relatively simple process of picking out knots and other objects which may have become embedded in the cloth.

[35]Thus, in 1660, the Churchwardens and Overseers of Trowbridge petitioned the justices that due to the "decay of clothing," they were not able to raise poor rates. WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Trinity 1660. It is possible that the parish officials were exaggerating the extent of the "decay" in order to convince the J. P.'s to order neighboring parishes to help raise poor relief funds for Trowbridge.

clothmaking in the West of England.[36]

Most of the complaints of decline or disruptions in the Wiltshire cloth industry directed to government officials during the 1640's and 1650's seem to have come from those areas which still depended heavily on the production of broadcloths. Hence, in 1647, the broadweavers of Chippenham and Calne (among other areas) represented their "miserable" condition due to unemployment; in 1652, a petition of unknown origin was sent by the Wiltshire justices to Parliament, notifying that body of the "sad and deplorable condicion of the multitude of poore in this county that depends wholely on the trade of Cloathinge."[37] Unemployment at the end of the 1650's seems to have swelled the ranks of the poor in need of relief at Devizes, where the St. Mary's parish overseers' disbursements increased sharply between 1658 and 1661. A hint of the cause of the unemployment was given by the Bearer of Wool at the borough's market place, who complained in 1660 that he had lost a great deal of money due to the "badness of the markets of wool and yarne" during the last two years.[38]

In sum, there is little doubt that the economies of some of

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[36]Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry, p. 114.

[37]HMC, Various, I, p. 115; WRO, Quarter Sessions, Order Bk. No. 1(1642-1654), March 1652.

[38]Average annual disbursements to the poor of the parish had averaged around £40 from 1650 or 1657. From 1658 to 1661, they averaged £55 per annum. Moreover, whereas most of the previous recipients of poor relief had been widows and the elderly, during the period 1658-1660 more and more adult males were receiving relief. See WRO 189/20. St. Mary, Devizes, Overseers' Accounts, 1612-72; WRO, Devizes Borough Records, General Entry Book C (no foliation), petition of Richard Webb the younger.

Wiltshire's cloth-making towns suffered painful disruptions during the two periods of emigration to America, 1635-38 and 1654-1660. But, how important was the depression of the cloth industry in motivating so many to leave their Wiltshire towns and move across the Atlantic? In answering this question, one must take care to avoid the generalizations that have marked the few scholarly attempts to analyze motivation. Breen and Foster, for instance, have shown that industrial depression was probably not the primary reason for the Kentish and East Anglian emigration of 1637, in that most of the 273 colonists came from "comparatively the least blighted sections of the cloth-working areas."[39]

As for the movement to New England from Wiltshire during the 1630's, only Salisbury need concern us since its emigrants comprised the great majority of townsmen who left the county.[40] It has been shown that Salisbury probably suffered as much as, if not more than, any of Wiltshire's other cloth-making centers during the early decades of the seventeenth century. Its broadcloth industry seems to have been chronically depressed from the early 1620's through 1660, and its failure to change to the production of more profitable types of cloth undoubtedly worsened the situation. Yet, of the nineteen adult, male emigrants who listed their occupations in 1635 and 1638, only one (Thomas Antram, weaver) practiced a textile-producing trade. If the decline of the broadcloth industry was of prime importance

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[39]Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 204.

[40]See Map 1. Marlborough also sent many emigrants. But it is doubtful that the production of cloth ever figured as prominently in that town's economy as it did in Salisbury and other Wiltshire towns (see p. 65, above).

in the decision to emigrate, one would have expected that many more of Salisbury's textile workers would have appeared on the passenger lists.

The question of linkages between the textile industry and the rest of Salisbury's economy obviously must be considered. That is, how much did a decline or depression in the cloth industry affect the well-being of other craftsmen? Did disruptions in the town's broadcloth industry adversely affect the material well-being of the four tailors, two ropers, and two tanners who emigrated between 1635 and 1638? Linkages often are assumed to have been very strong.[41] Yet, this has never been completely proven even for the economies of rural regions, and it is most questionable with regard to towns. There is no evidence that the other craftsmen who left Salisbury during the 1630's were hopelessly ruined at the time of their departure. On the other hand, there is evidence, slight as it may be, that some of the town's emigrants were fairly well-to-do.[42] In short, if the depression of Salisbury's broadcloth industry directly affected the well-being of any of its inhabitants, it was probably the poorer weavers and most casual (and thus most vulnerable) workers in the textile industry, the clothworkers. What became of such men remains a mystery. Some, as was indicated previously, petitioned for licenses as victuallers; some undoubtedly migrated elsewhere; most probably swelled the ranks of Salisbury's poor. One decision they, by and large, did not make was to emigrate to New England during the

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[41]See, for example, Campbell, "Social Origins," p. 85.

[42]See Section I, pp. 24-7 (above).

1630's.[43]

At first sight, it appears that the continued decline of the textile industry in the 1640's and 1650's must have been a major factor in inducing emigration to Virginia and the West Indies from various parts of Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Wiltshire.[44] Indeed, a little over 80 per cent (86 out of 106) of Wiltshire's urban emigrants were from towns within the county's cloth-producing regions. Yet, if one examines closely the course of the textile industry in each of these towns, it becomes obvious that any generalization concerning motivation based on the aforementioned statistics is useless. Such "simple" Wiltshire towns as Malmesbury, Wilton, Devizes, Chippenham, and Calne-- all still very much dependent on the chronically depressed broadcloth industry --undoubtedly suffered severely during the wars and Interregnum. Disregarding the possibility of any "personal" factors mentioned earlier, one can reasonably argue that emigrants to America and the West Indies during the 1650's from these towns were directly affected by hard times in the cloth industry, and perhaps left primarily for that reason. The given occupations of many of the emigrants from those towns partially substantiates this: nearly all of those who called themselves textile workers were from these towns.[45]

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[43]It is always necessary, of course, to qualify such statements by recalling that more may have emigrated to America from all over Wiltshire, but left no record of their departure.

[44]Campbell, "Social Origins," pp. 84-5.

[45]Five of the ten textile-craftsmen who left were from these Wiltshire towns; three of the remaining five were from other depressed, rural textile regions of the county. See Section II, C.

The role played by the disruption of the cloth industry in the emigration of the 39 people from Salisbury during the 1650's is not as certain and probably not as direct. The persistent decay of that town's broadcloth industry during the 1640's and 1650's undoubtedly led, in part, to a continuance of the poverty which had plagued it for decades. But, an almost complete lack of occupational information for its emigrants precludes the drawing of a direct connection between their emigration and decline of a basic industry. The key to the Salisbury emigration may lie in what has been said about its transition from an industrial, mercantile community to one whose economy was increasingly dominated by service and retail crafts. An economy based on the latter trades is inevitably less labor-intensive than one based on textile production. Many of Salisbury's young men and women may have found opportunities increasingly restricted as a result, and opted for migration.

We have seen, however, that not all of Wiltshire's clothing towns were ruined by the decline of the broadcloth industry. In fact, the disruptions of the 1640's and 1650's affected mainly those areas which still relied on the production of broadcloths. Towns such as Bradford-on-Avon, Trowbridge, and perhaps Westbury had apparently weathered the strom of depression by transferring their industrial activities to the fabrication of new medley cloths. Yet, all of these towns sent a substantial number of emigrants to the New World. To argue that the primary inspiration for the emigration of 23 young men and women from these towns was decline of the cloth industry is questionable at best.

It is even more doubtful that disruptions of the textile

industry were responsible for the bulk of the emigration from Gloucestershire towns during the 1650's. Although the industry did recede from Tetbury and Marshfield, and the importance of Cirencester as a cloth town diminished between 1620 and 1660,[46] the Gloucestershire textile industry as a whole did not suffer that much. One authority of the Western cloth trade suggests that much of the county's losses from the decline of the 1620's were recouped before 1640; that during the 1650's, Gloucestershire cloth production was increasing and was finding a more than satisfactory outlet in the Mediterranean.[47]

Finally, there were in Gloucestershire-- and to a lesser extent in Wiltshire --towns which sent great numbers of emigrants during the late 1650's, and whose prosperity was not at all dependent on textiles. Gloucester and Tewkesbury are two examples from Gloucestershire;[48] Warminster from Wiltshire. The latter town was on the edge of Wiltshire's cloth-producing region,[49] and apparently was never dominated by the textile industry. Yet,

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[46]It is interesting that the number of emigrants from these three towns was negligible: only 9 of Gloucestershire's 118 urban emigrants were from these towns.

[47]Mann, The Cloth Industry in the West of England, pp. 16-17.

[48]The Tawneys discovered that even as early as 1608, only 10% of Gloucester's population practiced textile crafts, while not even 7% of Tewkesbury's population was so engaged.

[49]In 1633, the J.P.'s of Wiltshire were ordered to move its Trinity sessions from Warminster to Chippenham because the King's Council discovered that the former town was too far removed from the center of Wiltshire's cloth industry. What clothmaking that was practiced at Warminster was probably medley production. WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Easter, 1659, examination of Thomas Bisse, clothier.

Warminster sent the third largest number of emigrants of any Wiltshire town. In fact, the obsession of many industrial historians with the woollen industry has blinded them to the incontrovertible fact that the manufacture of cloth was no more important as a source of employment than other crafts practiced by townsmen throughout the country.[50] One must, then, turn to a consideration of other factors, besides the decline of the cloth industry, in any analysis of motivation behind seventeenth-century emigration.

Various short-term factors certainly deserve attention, if for no other reason than the regularity with which they appear in traditional analyses of motivation. The high incidence of disease afflicting urban centers during the seventeenth century has often been mentioned as a possible factor; hunger, even starvation, resulting from harvest failures have also been credited with either directly or indirectly stimulating emigration to the colonies.[51] There can be little doubt that nearly all Englishmen were exposed periodically to the debilitating effects of the twin evils of dearth and disease. Both large and small towns, with their crowded,

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[50] L. A. Clarkson, The Pre-Industrial Economy of England, 1500-1750 (London, 1971), pp. 77, 88 (especially Table 2).

[51] See, for example, Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled, pp. 98, 105-6. Wesley Craven has suggested that much of the heavy emigration to Virginia between 1650 and 1675 was directly a result of harvest failures in England. See Craven, White, Red, and Black, pp. 20-1. It should be noted that Craven's method of determining the timing of emigration has been seriously challenged by Edmund S. Morgan, "Headrights and Head Counts: A Review Article," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 80 (1972), 361-71.

unsanitary conditions, as well as their dependence on middlemen for all sorts of food supplies, were particularly vulnerable.[52] It is necessary, then, to consider how much, if at all, these two forces may have affected Wiltshire towns between 1630 and 1660.

An analysis of the effect of grain prices is rendered particularly difficult, if not impossible, by the utter lack of local price series. One alternative, very popular among historians, is to turn to the various national grain price series analyses compiled by Hoskins, Bowden, and Harrison.[53] The main drawback of these sources is that they say very little about either yearly harvest qualities or annual prices in Wiltshire. Hoskins does employ Exeter price data to describe harvest fluctuations in "Western" England; but, Exeter prices were generally higher than others. Grain prices at Winchester-- much closer to southern and eastern Wiltshire, and perhaps more accurately reflective of prices in Wiltshire --were almost always lower than those at Exeter.[54] The only other alternative is to rely on eyewitness accounts of local officials who presumably would not allow extreme suffering caused

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[52]For instance, Professor Hoskins has shown that nearly one-third of urban populations lived so close to the poverty line that even a modest drop of 10% in the yield of the barley harvest (the usual bread-corn of the poor) usually meant semi-starvation. See Hoskins, "English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser., 6 (1956), 17-18.

[53]See above, p. 68 (note 14).

[54]P. Bowden, "Agricultural Prices," pp. 610, 614-15.

by dearth to go unnoticed.[55]

If one pursues the latter alternative, it becomes obvious that most areas of Wiltshire evidently escaped the 1630's-- a period when many other parts of England suffered from dearth --relatively unscathed. For example, by the spring of 1630, both the Sheriff of Wiltshire and an official of Salisbury informed the Privy Council that southern and western Wiltshire were favorably stocked with wheat, barley, and oats, and that prices of these grains "rather decreaseth than increase."[56] Only in late 1633 and early 1634 were there complaints of "the scarcitie and want of Corne" from the inhabitants of Bradford-on-Avon and Trowbridge, who petitioned the J.P.'s for a badger licenced to buy wheat, barley, beans and peas. Most interesting is the complete absence of complaint during 1638, when many Wiltshire emigrants departed for New England, and when cries of distress reached the Privy Council from other parts of the country.[57] Perhaps Wiltshire was as fortunate as other Southwestern counties, including

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[55]It has recently been shown that county and other local officials were, in times of dearth, nearly always prompted into administrative action by a fear of social disorder and a sense of their own responsibility to ameliorate the crises. The common responses to dearth on the part of local authorities were: (a) to restrain various "middlemen" of the victualling trade who were always the first to be blamed for engrossing and forestalling; (b) to suppress alehouses. If the local authorities failed to respond by administrative order, public disorder in the form of corn riots usually followed. See John Walter and Keith Wrighton, "Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England," Past and Present, No. 71 (May, 1976), 22-42. Hence, one can probably safely assume that in the absence of these manifestations, real dearth did not exist in a locality.

[56]PRO, S.P. 16/182/2; SMA, N101. Petitions and Correspondences.

[57]WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Hilary 1634. Complaints

neighboring Somerset, where corn was said to be in plentiful supply.[58]

The generally poor harvests and high grain prices of the late 1640's, however, were felt in both Wiltshire and Somerset. Four very poor harvests between 1646 and 1649 drove up grain prices dramatically (50%) to a peak in 1650. Complaints of dearth and distress were continuous throughout these years, forcing the justices of Wiltshire to supress malting of grains and the keeping of alehouses until the scarcity subsided.[59] The crisis, however, apparently ended in Wiltshire by 1650,[60] and one searches the local records in vain for any further evidence of dearth during the 1650's. This is curious, since the late 1650's--those years which witnessed the greatest emigration from Wiltshire to the colonies --were supposedly years of high grain prices and

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of scarcity came particularly from Wales, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Rutland, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire. See Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Domestic Series (hereafter cited as CSPD), vol. 12 (1637-1638), pp. 156, 303, 320.

[58]PRO, P.C. 2/48/506(254r). The Privy Councillors gave warrants to badgers from several counties to buy grain in Somerset where there was an abundance of corn. Moreover, it is interesting that the J.P.'s of Somerset reported in July, 1638 that there was a multitude of vagrants and beggars in the county at that time. It is highly probable that people were migrating to Somerset because there was plenty of grain there. PRO, S.P. 16/395/9.

[59]Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations," 20, 29; PRO, Western Assizes. Order Book, 1641-1652 (hereafter cited as Assi 24/21), fols. 104r-105r; HMC, Various, I, pp. 180-83; Bates-Harbin, ed., Quarter Sessions Records, Commonwealth, p. 26.

[60]In July, 1650, a badger from Buckinghamshire travelled to Wiltshire to buy barley and other grains which apparently were in plentiful supply. See WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Michaelmas, 1650.

dearth.[61] Perhaps the corn-growing regions of Wiltshire (the "Chalk") kept that county well-supplied during those years when other areas of the country were experiencing hardship.[62] One can only assume that, as was the case with the 1630's, there is no significant correlation between short-term crises induced by harvest failures and periods of emigration to the American colonies.

Nor does there appear to have been a demonstrable connection between emigration from seventeenth-century Wiltshire towns and disease. Certainly, no English town was immune to any of the diseases of the seventeenth century. Heightened mortality could be induced by influenza, pneumonia, typhus, smallpox, and the plague-- perhaps the most appalling ill that could befall a community. The latter, in its bubonic form,[63] was particularly liable to strike an urban center with its adjoining houses, the common walls of which provided havens for the colonies of rats that carried the disease.

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[61]Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations," 21, 29. There were, however, several complaints of scarcity in Somerset during these years. See PRO, Assi 24/22/61v.

[62]Interestingly, another county with large expanses of corn-producing chalk downland, Sussex, experienced little hardship as a result of dearth during the 1630's and 1650's. See Anthony Fletcher, A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex, 1600-60 (London, 1975), pp. 149-55.

[63]The septicaemic and pneumonic forms of the plague so rarely affected sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England that social historians feel safe in disregarding them, and concentrate instead on the bubonic form. See J. F. D. Shrewsbury, A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles (London, 1970), pp. 6, 21; see also, Andrew D. Appleby, "Disease or Famine? Mortality in Cumberland and Westmoreland, 1580-1640," Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser., 26 (1973), 404-06.

Salisbury, Wiltshire's most populous town and that which sent the greatest number of emigrants to New England during the 1630's, was seriously infected by plague in 1627. Registered burials of the town's three parishes totalled 462 for that year, more than double the average annual number. As Figure 7 indicates, moreover, mortalities followed the typical pattern of virtually all plague epidemics in England and the Continent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: mortalities heavily concentrated in the late summer or early autumn, with very few during the month of December.[64] However, it is noteworthy that during the 1630's when so many other English towns and villages were visited by plague, and when many emigrants left for America, Salisbury remained relatively clear of the disease. A minor epidemic broke out in St. Edmund's parish in 1635, but it apparently did not induce mortalities, which were actually lower than normal during that year.[65] Between 1635 and 1638, when plague and other diseases ravaged other Wiltshire towns and villages, an observer noted that

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[64]The burial figures for St. Martin's and St. Thomas are from the Bishop's transcripts at the DRO. The average annual number of burials for the three parishes, 1631-1640, was 197; Appleby, "Disease or Famine?", 406.

[65]At the October (1635) monthly meeting of the three parishes' Overseers of the Poor, Churchwardens, and the Salisbury J.P.'s, the officials of St. Edmund's reported that they had paid relief to those afflicted with an "extraordinarye sicknesse in greene croft streate." This particular street, very near the parish church, has always been an especially poor area of the town. SMA, S162. Records of Monthly Meetings of Overseers, Wardens, and J.P.'s. Burials at St, Edmund's in 1635 totalled only 45, far lower than the annual average of 61 (1631-40).

FIGURE 7.--RECORDED BURIALS, ST. MARTIN'S AND ST. EDMUND'S, SALISBURY, 1625-1629

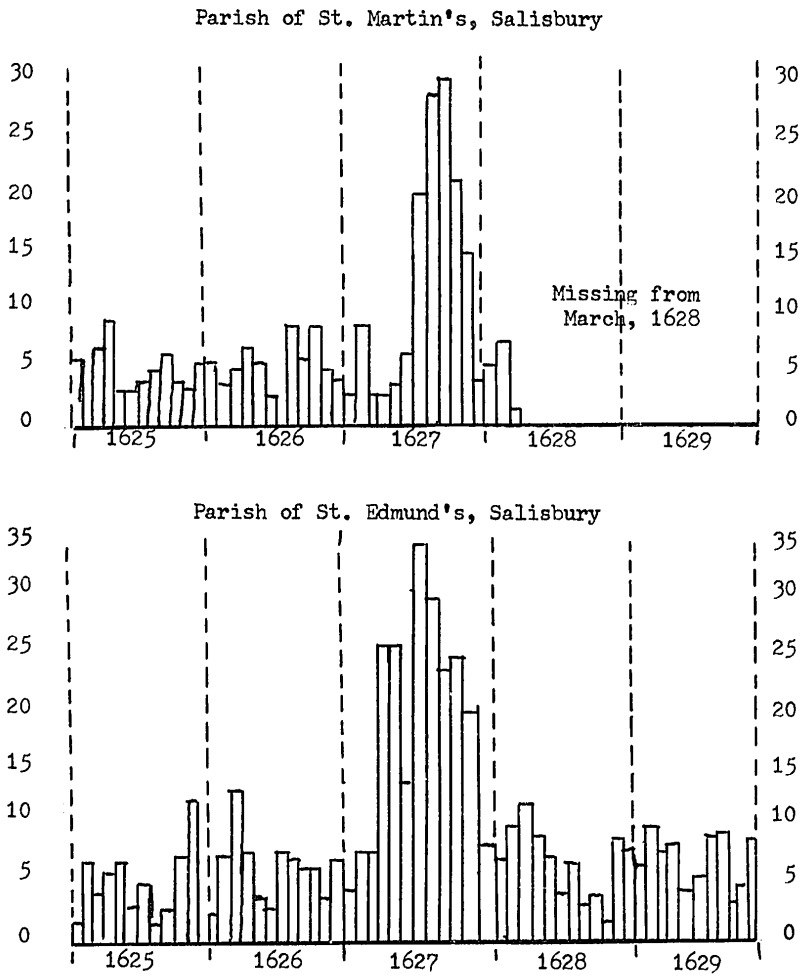
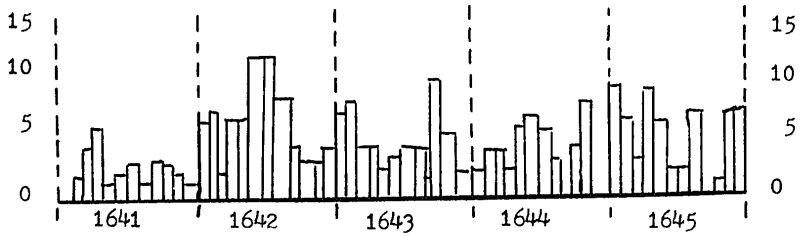


FIGURE 8.--RECORDED BURIALS, ST. MARTIN' AND ST. EDMUND'S, SALISBURY

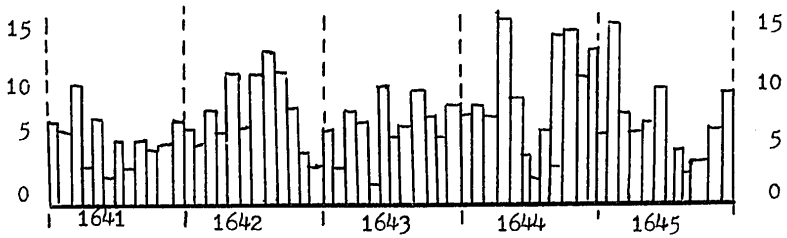
Parish of St. Martin's, Salisbury



Burials by Status, St. Martin's

	1641	1642	1643	1644	1645
Children	21	51	22	15	27
Adult Males	3	7	16	10	16
Adult Females	4	15	14	15	15
Soldiers		1		4	1

Parish of St. Edmund's, Salisbury

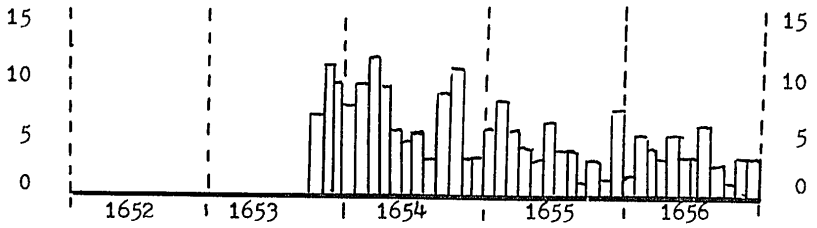


Burials by Status, St. Edmund's

	1641	1642	1643	1644	1645
Children	31	54	26	41	18
Adult Males	19	17	19	21	21
Adult Females	15	24	26	25	20
Soldiers				12	12

FIGURE 9.--RECORDED BURIALS, CHIPPENHAM

Parish of Chippenham

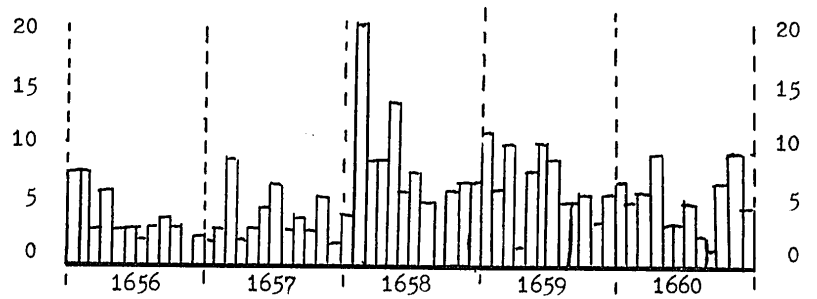


Burials by Status, Chippenham

	1652	1653 (from Oct.)	1654	1655	1656
Children	M	13	26	16	16
Adult Males	i	6	29	22	11
Adult Females	s	9	24	13	12
Soldiers	s				1
	i				
	n				
	g				

FIGURE 10.--RECORDED BURIALS, WARMINSTER

Parish of Warminster



Burials by Status, Warminster

	1656	1657	1658	1659	1660
Children	17	22	51	26	29
Adult Males	13	9	20	21	16
Adult Females	13	17	24	27	15

Salisbury "stands clear of the sickness."[66] Nor is there any evidence of disease-inflicted mortality in Marlborough during the 1630's. Neither local records nor the town's parish registers even suggest that any crisis[67] preceded the emigration of some of its inhabitants to New England.

During the 1640's, several Wiltshire towns were visited by diseases, some of which may have been carried by soldiers. As Figure 8 shows, Salisbury experienced heightened mortality-- albeit slightly short of crisis proportions --during the years 1642 and 1644. Those deaths in 1642 may have resulted from an outbreak of dysentery in the town, though it is impossible to be certain.[68] Those of 1644 were induced by an undescribed sickness, probably brought there by soldiers sent westward by Sir William Waller.[69] Moreover,

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[66]Plague or "sicknesses" were reported at Amesbury in late 1636, Calne in 1637-8, and other parts of the county in 1637. WRO, Great Rolls, Hilary 1637; B. Howard Cunnington, ed., Records of the County of Wiltshire (Devizes, 1932), pp. 123-4; PRO, P.C. 2/48/23; PRO, S.P. 16/335/64.

[67]A "mortality crisis" is defined here as twice the normal number of burials-- a definition generally used by demographic historians. "Normal" is here defined as an average of burials computed for a number of non-crisis base years.

[68]Dysentery is the only disease suggested by the pattern of mortality deduced from the parish registers. The disease usually infected during the summer months, usually killed primarily the young, and did not cause a drop in conceptions. See P. Goubert, "Recent Theories and Research in French Population between 1500 and 1700," in Glass and Eversley, eds., Population in History.

[69]Salisbury's ledgers mention "the continuance of the sickness" in September, 1644; but the uneven distribution of burials in that year makes it difficult to determine its character. It is also somewhat curious that St. Martin's parish register does not reflect heightened mortality in that year. Perhaps the unusual number of soldiers buried at St. Edmund's inflated the figure somewhat. SMA, Ledger Bk. D, fol. 14. Concerning the transportation of disease by soldiers during that period, see Wrigley, Population and History p. 64.

from 1646 to 1648, several other Wiltshire towns (including Wilton, Highworth, and Devizes) reported visitations of plague. The poor harvests and consequent dearth of those years undoubtedly exacerbated the crises by lowering resistance to disease.

However, just as grain prices levelled off as a result of generally better harvests during the 1650's, so too did mortality crises induced by disease. Local records make no mention of disease ravaging Wiltshire towns, including Salisbury, during the period of emigration to Virginia and the West Indies. Nor do the parish registers of most towns reveal any real mortality crises, though they can not be entirely trusted in this respect.[70] Only in Chippenham and Warminster was there any evidence of disease-induced mortality immediately preceding or during this period. Chippenham experienced a genuine mortality crisis between October 1653 and October 1654, which may have been a result of a typhus epidemic, perhaps carried by the hundreds of east- and west-bound travellers who tramped through the town each year.[71] The winter of 1658 proved to be a period of dramatic increase in deaths at Warminster as well, induced perhaps

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[70]Registration was particularly haphazard during the 1640's and 1650's in towns like Devizes and Warminster. Even when reliable registration was carried out, there were gaps in recorded burials and baptisms.

[71]The seasonal incidence of burials, as well as the status of those buried (as depicted in Figure 9) suggests typhus: high mortality in the winter months; not an unusually high number of children; lower mortality in warmer months. See Appleby, "Disease or Famine?", 408. The Churchwardens' accounts record sums of money given to poor travellers, usually Irish, on their way to London or Bristol during the 1650's. See WRO 415/406. Transcriptions of Chippenham Churchwardens' Accounts, 1620-1673.

by a pulmonary sickness such as pneumonia.[72]

Perhaps the ultimate question one must ask is whether short-term crises such as dearth and disease, even if superimposed on chronic unemployment, could lead people to emigrate.[73] It seems that those townsmen who suffered from the twin evils of high food prices and epidemic sickness were more likely to have moved shorter distances. Dearth and high grain prices often brought short-distance migrants to larger towns from neighboring villages and towns. Such was the case in 1598 when high grain prices caused a high influx of vagrants to Salisbury in search of relief.[74] Another alternative was to move to less-blighted areas in search of cheaper food or shelter

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[72]Plague and dysentery can probably be ruled out in this instance, considering the high number of burials during the winter months. The large number of children buried suggests that the disease was not typhus, which rarely killed children. Influenza is a possibility, but of those taken with the sickness, only about 1 per cent die. Smallpox was becoming important in England around this time, but a widespread epidemic of such a physically ugly affliction surely would have caused some comment in the register of other local records. It certainly would not have escaped the attention of John Aubrey, who commented on an outbreak of smallpox in Taunton in 1658. See Appleby, "Disease or Famine?," 406, 408, 423; John Britton, ed., The Natural History of Wiltshire by John Aubrey (London, 1847), p. 75.

[73]Peter Clark apparently believes that this was a good possibility. He equates long-distance migration with "subsistence migration," induced, by and large, by "the downward path of wage-rates and the leaps and bounds of food prices." Moreover, he feels that by 1640, these subsistence migrants were being diverted to the New World. See Clark, "The Migrant in Kentish Towns," p. 149. However, Clark's thesis has recently been subjected to damaging criticism by John Patten, who shows that subsistence migration cannot be equated with long-distance migration, and that many cities and towns, including London, received a good many subsistent migrants from short distances during the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries. See Patten, Rural-Urban Migration, pp. 8-11.

[74]Slack, "Poverty and Politics," p. 169.

from disease.[75] Flight to rural areas to escape epidemics in towns was a common enough occurrence throughout the period. Even more common, perhaps, was the decision made by countless numbers of Englishmen not to pull up roots at all, but to weather such short-term crises as they had weathered others before. Unless it can be proven that these were not feasible alternatives to emigration during the 1630's and 1650's, and unless evidence can be given of a real correlation between the incidence of dearth or disease and the timing of emigration, the significance of these factors in the decision to move to the New World must remain in doubt.

Despite periodic mortality crises, some of the Wiltshire towns experienced continual, often dramatic, demographic expansion during the seventeenth century. Perhaps the two most conspicuous examples of urban growth in Wiltshire were Trowbridge and Warminster. The population of the former grew from around 1,000 in the second decade of the century to around 1,700 in 1676; that of Warminster increased from around 1,400 at the turn of the century to around 1,850 in 1675.[76] Since the real growth points of seventeenth-century urban expansion apparently are to be found mainly among "simple" towns, it may be that these examples from Wiltshire reflect somewhat of a nationwide trend.[77]

Population increase of this sort had two main sources. First

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[75]Such may have been true of those vagrants who swarmed over Somerset in 1638. See above, p. 85, note 58.

[76]See Appendix C.

[77]Slack and Clark, Crisis and Order, p. 33. The largest old urban centers such as Bristol, Norwich and London were also experiencing demographic expansion during the seventeenth century.

was growth by natural increase. That is, much of the overall population increase in both Trowbridge and Warminster between 1600 and 1640 might simply have been a result of the great excess of births over deaths. Indeed, the Warminster parish register reveals that baptisms exceeded burials by an average of 20 per annum between 1611 and 1640.[78] A second major cause of demographic expansion was immigration. Diocesan court records show that migration into Wiltshire towns was considerable: of a sample 222 Wiltshire townsmen who deposed between 1615 and 1640 before the Consistory Court of Salisbury, 108 (48%) were immigrants, some of whom made three or four stops before settling in one of the towns.[79] Moreover, the existence of a remarkable series of lists of householders who lived in

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[78]Baptisms at Warminster averaged 61.8 p. a.; burials averaged 41.8 p. a. Such natural increase is remarkable since market towns had notoriously low rates of natural increase during the pre-industiral period. See Wrigley, Population and History, p. 99. It is possible that there was considerable under-registration of burials, so that the rate of natural increase was not really as high as the parish registers suggest. But, the overall growth of the town's population was too great during this period to be explained by net migration alone (see below). Natural increase must have been a major cause of growth.

[79]The pioneering work in the use of church court depositions to analyze urban migration is Peter Clark, "The Migrant in Kentish Towns, 1580-1640," in Slack and Clark, eds., Crisis and Order. The drawbacks of using the depositions, as well as guidelines for those who would use them as historical sources, are summarized therein. The main drawback of the Wiltshire records is that, since only the Consistory Court records survive, the sample is considerably more restricted than if Archdeaconry depositions survived as well. In my analysis, I included those deponents who resided in Salisbury, Marlborough, Devizes, Trowbridge, Warminster, Bradford-on-Avon, Chippenham, and Amesbury at the time they deposed, along with those who formerly had lived in those towns and had moved. Those excluded from the analysis were: gentlemen; knights; esquires; clergymen; married and widowed women. The deposition records are at the DRO; those used in the present study were Books No. 30-43 (1615-29); Books No. 45-57 (1630-41).

Warminster town[80] is even more revealing: 57 of the 282 surnames recorded on the 1639 list are not to be found on either the 1623 or 1629 lists, and were probably immigrants. More astonishing is the appearance of 29 new family names on a 1642 list of householders which had not been on any previous lists. This represents an immigration rate of nearly 11 per cent over a short 2½ year period. Finally, immigration may have been the key to Trowbridge's tremendous demographic expansion between the late 1650's and 1676. The rate of natural increase in that town was nearly zero between 1660 and 1676, suggesting either under-registration of births or considerable immigration. The former does not seem plausible, since great care was taken to record nonconformist baptisms (births) during these years. The remaining possibility, immigration, is further suggested by the number of settlement certificates: nearly 70 young men, some with families, settled in Trowbridge during the 1660's and 1670's.[81] Newcomers were apparently attracted by the town's rise in prominence as a center of medley-manufacture.[82] Clearly, migration to even the smallest of towns was as much a fact of life as it had been in the sixteenth century, and certainly was an important factor in the overall population increase of some Wiltshire towns.

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[80]The lists are part of the Longleat Ms. held by the WRO at Trowbridge: WRO 845/Manorial Bundles 2,3. Those listed were usually male householders, though sometimes others were included (see Appendix C, notes l and m).

[81]WRO 206/50, Trowbridge Settlement Certificates. It is significant that, during the same period, migrants (95% of whom were textile workers) swarmed to the other rising textile center, Bradford-on-Avon. See WRO 77/23, Bradford-on-Avon Settlement Certificates.

[82]See above, pp. 74-75.

Yet, population growth at Warminster and Trowbridge seems to have been considerably retarded during the period 1640-1660.[83] Before considering possible reasons for this decline, one must ask if, due to under-registration of births, the decline was more apparent than real. For instance, it could be argued that incomplete registration of baptisms and births at Trowbridge during the late 1640's and 1650's inevitably lowers any population estimate based solely on annual average christenings. Although it is true that parish registers were, in general, haphazardly kept during the Interregnum, this does not seem to have been the case at Trowbridge. Baptisms before 1654, and births thereafter until 1658,[84] were recorded assiduously. Moreover, a decline of population during the 1640's and 1650's is not consistent with what happened at Warminster, a town whose population trends can be delineated, by use of the "householders" lists, with a fair degree of certainity.[85]

If this short-term decline was real, what caused it? The traditional answer given to this question is that hunger and disease took an uncommonly heavy toll on the population during the Civil Wars and Interregnum. Attention is drawn to the outbreak of plague and other diseases in the 1640's, to the widespread typhus and influenza epidemic of the late 1650's. Some have argued, in addition, that

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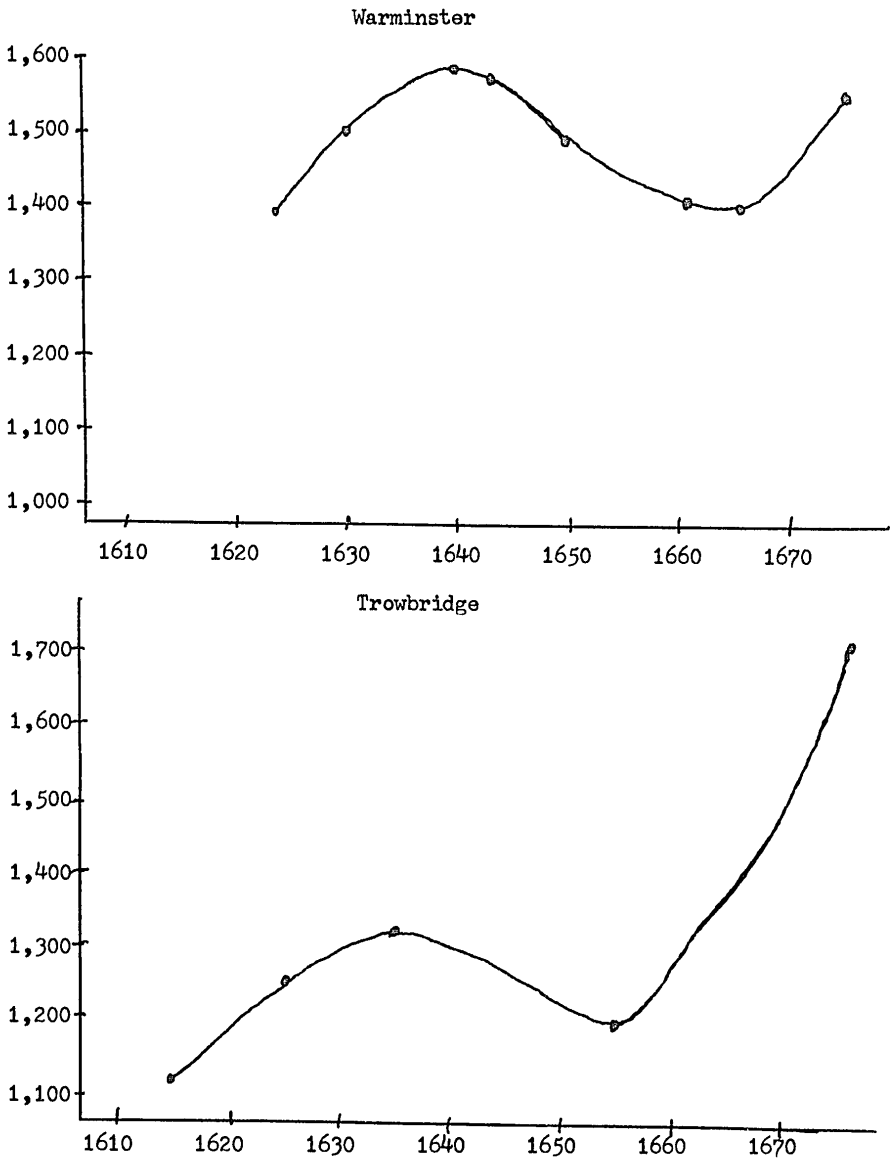
[83]See Appendix C, and Figure 11, following.

[84]In 1653, it was ordered that civil Registrars of births, deaths, and marriages be appointed by every parish. Beginning around October 1653, births rather than baptisms were recorded in most parishes. This usually continued until around 1658-9.

[85]The number of recorded adult, male householders at Warminster declines from 282 in 1639, to 278 in 1642, to 264 in 1649-50, to 239 in 1659.

FIGURE 11.--POPULATION TRENDS IN WARMINSTER AND TROWBRIDGE, ca. 1610-1676



not only did mortality rise in the short run, but that the middle decades of the seventeenth century commenced a new phase in population history in which mortality rates were generally higher and fertility rates generally lower than the previous century.[86] Yet, where fairly consistent and complete registration of burials and baptisms allows analysis, it does not appear that mortalities were any higher in certain Wiltshire towns than they had been during the previous two decades. In fact, as Table 10 shows, average annual mortalities were nearly always lower, and average annual births sometimes higher between 1640 and 1660 than they had been between 1621 and 1640.

Perhaps a better explanation of the temporary decline of population during the 1640's and 1650's-- and one which is seldom cited --is migration out of these towns. A comparison of the lists of Warminster householders compiled between 1639 and 1660 reveals that migration from that particular town was, indeed, very substantial. For example, 97 males who were listed as householders in April 1639 were no longer there in 1642. Because of gaps in the parish register, it is uncertain how many of these people died, but it was probably no more than one-half.[87] Moreover, 173 (65%) of the adult, male householders who appear on the list compiled in 1649-50 were not recorded

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[86]Clarkson, The Pre-Industrial Economy, pp. 28-30; J. D. Chambers, Population, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial England (Oxford, 1972), p. 136; Wrigley, Population and History, pp. 82-88.

[87]Between January 1641 and May 1642, seventeen of these people were buried. Even if we assume a heavy incidence of mortalities among the parish's adult males from April 1639 through 1640 (e. g. 50), this would still leave quite a few who must have emigrated.

on the list dated October 1660. Ninety-five of the 173 died between 1653 and 1660 (38 during the 1658-9 crisis year). If we assume that thirty-three others perished between 1650-1652,[88] a considerable number must have moved elsewhere.[89]

TABLE 10

AVERAGE ANNUAL BAPTISMS AND BURIALS IN SEVERAL WILTSHIRE TOWNS[a]

Parish	Baptisms (Births)	Burials
St. Martin's, Sarum (1631-40)	53.5	43.5
St. Martin's, Sarum (1641-60)	?	32.15
St. Edmund's, Sarum (1621-40)	72.75	65.45
St. Edmund's, Sarum (1641-60)	61.2	63.2
Trowbridge (1621-40)	43.35	40.8
Trowbridge (1641-60)	42.5	39.5
Warminster (1621-40)	65.1	41.7
Warminster (1641-60)	75.7	?

[a]It must be conceded that gaps in the parish registers, along with instances of blatant under-registration of both burials and baptisms, renders any comparative analysis of this type somewhat less than conclusive. Care was taken, however, to compute only those years which exhibit complete registration. It must also be conceded that trends in the fertility rate can only be conclusively established by way of family reconstitution.

[88]The total 33 is a rough estimate based on average annual burials of adult males in non-crisis years (10.5).

[89]Although it cannot be conclusively proven, it is possible that out-migration on a fairly large scale was a significant factor behine the apparent population decline in Trowbridge during the 1640's and 1650's. Out-migration would certainly explain the parish's drop in average number of burials and baptisms as depicted in Table 10.

Beginning in 1642, again in 1649-50, and finally in 1660, the Warminster lists include groups of single males who are listed separately from the householders. In the 1640's, they were referred to simply as "the young men;" but in October 1660, they were described somewhat more fully as young men who were waiting to be married so that they too might set up households and secure a niche in the community.[90] Nothing more is known of them except that their ages probably ranged from mid-teens to early twenties, and that a few of them emigrated to America.[91] They might have been apprentices, journeymen, or servants-in-husbandry living, for the time being, with their own parents or with their masters.

Whatever their exact status, it is interesting that this group of young men was apparently even more migratory than the householders of Warminster. By 1649-50, nearly 35 per cent of the "young men" listed in 1642 no longer resided in the parish. Moreover, of the 75 "young men" on the 1649-50 list, 22 later set up households in the town, at least 19 died, and the remainder presumably left the town.[92] Finally, at least 15 more "young men"

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[90]The 1642 list records 91 "young men;" that of 1649-50, 75; that of October 1660, 70. The latter list describes the group of young men rather cryptically: "I begin with such as are of single lives; when they grow older, they will be [looking?] for wives."

[91]Based on an admittedly narrow sample of ten, I found that their ages ranged from 14 to 23. Both John Lucas and William Marchant, emigrants to America, via Bristol, appear on the 1642 and 1649-50 lists of "young men."

[92]Partly as a result of the uncertain dating of the list compiled probably in 1649-50, as well as a lack of burial records for the early 1650's, it is impossible to determine how many more of these "young men" actually died.

decided to leave between 1660 and 1665. Very possibly, then, the out-migration of a considerable number of relatively young, single males-- and perhaps a comparable number of young, single women --contributed to the decline of Warminster's population during the middle decades of the seventeenth century.

Though the evidence is less concrete, it is entirely possible that young men and women were leaving other Wiltshire towns during the same period. For instance, it has been suggested that Trowbridge experienced temporary demographic decline during the 1640's and 1650's. Perhaps the movement of a number of young, unmarried individuals away from the town was responsible (see note 89, above). Demographic historians have noted that when considerable out-migration of the young occurred, the proportion of older people in the population increased, and, consequently, heightened mortalities followed within the next decade. There is some evidence that this happened at Trowbridge: the complaint of the parish's churchwardens in 1659 that there had been a "great Increase of poor old Blinde and Impotent persons"[93] may have reflected a very real situation. Moreover, the unusually high mortalities of the 1660's[94] may have been the consequence of an older, more susceptible, population having been left behind by the heavy out-migration of the previous two decades.

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[93]D. E. C. Eversley, "Population History and Local History," in E.A. Wrigley, ed., Introduction to English Historical Demography (New York, 1966), p. 19; WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Trinity 1659.

[94]Average annual burials at Trowbridge during the 1660's were between 45 and 46. This was far above the norm, which for the period 1641-1670 was only around 35 burials per annum.

Considerable out-migration of the young may also have been a marked feature of those Wiltshire towns which experienced little population growth or definite demographic decline throughout the course of the seventeenth century. For instance, Marlborough's stagnating population can be explained only in terms of out-migration, considering the high fertility and low mortality statistics of its two parishes.[95] Though the gap between baptisms and burials was much less,[96] it is probable that migration was a major factor in keeping Salisbury's population growth minimal during the century.

For the purposes of this study, the significance of this substantial out-migration from Wiltshire towns lies in its timing and composition. It is intriguing, first of all, that the demonstrated movement away from the towns coincided, in part, with the period of considerable emigration to America. Second, it is noteworthy that many of those who left the towns were young and unmarried-- two important characteristics exhibited by Wiltshire emigrants to the colonies. It seems to me that if one can determine the most likely reasons for the out-migration, he might also come to grips with probable motives for emigration to the colonies.

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[95]Baptisms and burials at St. Mary's, Marlborough, and Sts. Peter and Paul, Marlborough, were as follows:

	St. Mary	Sts. Peter and Paul
Baptisms, 1621-40	45.9 p.a.	35.9 p.a.
Burials, 1621-40	26.4 p.a.*	24.8 p.a.

*Burials were recorded somewhat haphazardly at St. Mary's, increasing the likelihood of under-registration.

[96]Baptisms and burials at St. Martin's, Salisbury, and St. Edmund's, Salisbury, were as follows:

	St. Martin	St. Edmund
Baptisms, 1621-60	48.7 p.a.	67.2 p.a.
Burials, 1621-60	43.3 p.a.	66.8 p.a.

In some cases, the factors which bore heaviest on the minds of young men and women were strictly economic. We have seen, for example, that the economic outlook of those towns which were still dominated by the production of broadcloth was anything but bright. It has been shown that the economic well-being of towns like Chippenham, Devizes, Malmesbury, and Wilton depended almost entirely on the status of trade in white, undressed broadcloths. Shrinking markets for broadcloths undoubtedly translated into shrinking opportunities for young inhabitants of these towns. Moreover, many of Salisbury's young men and women may have found opportunities becoming increasingly restricted as the town's economic structure was transformed into one dominated by the less labor-intensive service and retail trades. But, we have seen that industrial depression does not entirely explain out-migration from all of the county's towns. Both Trowbridge and Warminster, for instance, experienced considerable out-migration; yet, neither was dominated by the broadcloth industry. Alternative reasons, besides the decline of the cloth industry, must be found before one can account for the movement away from these and other towns.

In searching for additional motives, one's attention is drawn to the Civil War of the 1640's, and the oppressions inflicted on many townsmen during it. As were some of its neighboring counties,[97] Wiltshire was, for a time, a major theater of war during the 1640's. Most Wiltshire towns suffered constant exactions,

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[97]For an excellent analysis of the impact of the wars and Interregnum in Somerset, see David Underdown, Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum (Newton Abbot, 1973).

but Chippenham, Devizes, Warminster, and Trowbridge were hit particularly hard. All of these towns were forced to contribute food and money to various Parliamentary and Royalist garrisons located in the West of England.[98] While the armies of one side or the other were stationed in these towns, their inhabitants were asked to share in the billeting and quartering of troops, sometimes at great expense.[99] All of these impositions, plus the constant threat of impressment (about which too little is known) may have led young men and women to migrate during the 1640's. Yet, oppression resulting from the wars and Cromwellian rule can never entirely explain the movement away from towns during the period. It has already been indicated that the migration of young men from Warminster was not restricted to the Interregnum, but continued throughout the 1660's as well. How much of a role the "political" factor actually played in the decision of young townsmen to emigrate between 1654 to 1660 remains, then, very questionable.

The reasons why so many young people were leaving Wiltshire towns like Warminster during the middle decades of the seventeenth century were probably more basic than temporary deprivations due to war. First of all, there is some evidence that attainment of the very first stage of any young man's pursuit of a successful career--the learning of a trade by apprenticeship --was at that time proving particularly difficult for many of Wiltshire's young townsmen. The country's J. P.'s as well as the Assize justices, expressed alarm

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[98]Pafford, ed., Accounts of Great Chalfield and Malmesbury, p. 64; Cunnington, Annals of the Borough of Devizes, I, pp. 106-15; Cunnington, Records of the County of Wilts., p. 154.

[99]Daniell, History of Warminster, pp. 68-70; HMC, Various, I,

during the late 1640's and early 1650's at the refusal of many masters to take apprentices bound to them.[100] Young men from Wiltshire towns were also finding it more difficult, during the middle decades of the century, getting apprenticed to masters in Bristol than they had during the early decades of the century. This is reflected in the absolute decline of the number of Wiltshire townsmen apprenticed there from 1630 to 1658.[101]

In addition, there is slight evidence to suggest that young townsmen were beginning to lose their customary niche among the ranks of Salisbury's apprentices. As Table 11 shows, not only did the overall number of tailors' apprentices decline, but the proportion recruited from beyond Salisbury itself, including those from other Wiltshire towns, diminished as well. Why apprenticeship opportunities for Wiltshire boys at these traditional centers were dwindling is a complex question which deserves more attention than can be given here. The fact remains, however, that a normally dependable avenue of career development was drying up.[102]

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pp. 110-11.

[100] WRO, Quarter Sessions, Order Bk. No. 1; Hilary 1649; Ibid., Order Bk. No. 2, Michaelmas 1659; PRO, Assi 24/21/12v; J. S. Cockburn, ed., Somerset Assize Orders, 1640-1659 (Frome, 1971), p. 49.

[101] Between 1600 and 1629, 106 townsmen (out of 311 for the entire county) were apprenticed at Bristol; between 1630 and 1658, only 87 (out of 319 for the entire county) were apprenticed. See BAO, Apprenticeship Enrollments, 1600-1658. Unfortunately, Bristol apprenticeship indentures were no longer systematically recorded after 1658, making it impossible to determine if this trend continued.

[102] It is interesting that London, which during the first decades of the seventeenth century was attracting apprentices from distant counties in the West and North of England, drew increasingly less from those areas after 1650, and increasingly more from the Home counties. See Lawrence Stone, "Social Mobility in England, 1500-

TABLE 11

APPRENTICES TO SALISBURY TAILORS[a]

Decade	No.of apprentices	No.from other Wilts. towns	% from outside Salisbury
1600-09	74	10	73%
1610-19	72	8	72%
1620-9	68	5	76%
1630-9	69	6	64%
1640-9	42	0	50%
1650-9	57	0	52%

[a]Based on copies of apprenticeship indentures found in SMA, I/245. Tailors Guild, Act and Memoranda Book, 1444-19th century.

Customs of inheritance practiced in seventeenth-century Wiltshire towns may also have contributed to considerable out-migration of the native young. The relationship between inheritance customs and population mobility during the early modern period has been a sorely neglected field of study. Over a decade ago, Joan Thirsk suggested that, in certain regions of England, the custom of partible inheritance may have anchored young people, especially younger sons, in their native parishes, thus contributing

1700," Past and Present, No. 33 (April, 1966), 31-2. I am not certain how many Wiltshire townsmen found apprenticeship opportunities in London before 1650,and thus cannot say whether opportunities for Wiltshiremen at London were drying up as well.

to overall population growth.[103] Since Dr. Thirsk's initiatives, little or nothing has been done to substantiate her findings. The descent of property and chattels in urban centers has been especially overlooked. Perhaps the major reason for this relative neglect are the manifold difficulties presented by the source material. County record offices in England are filled with probate material, but only a portion of it is composed of actual wills.[104] Those wills that are available too often set out no specific bequests: in a great majority of cases, the wife is given everything and nothing is said about the descent of property and goods after her death. Finally, urban property is very rarely mentioned. Undoubtedly, most of it was not heritable. All of these problems necessarily limit severely the size of a sample one can employ in an analysis of inheritance customs, especially if he is working with a relatively small group of towns and within a very short time period of five or six decades.

Hence, nothing definite can be stated about inheritance customs in seventeenth-century Wiltshire towns, about whether partible inheritance or primogeniture was most widely practiced.

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[103]Joan Thirsk, "Industries in the Countryside," in F. J. Fisher, ed., Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England in Honour of R. H. Tawney (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 77-9.

[104]Often, only inventories and bonds are extant. Moreover, probate material relating to the lower orders of urban society--petty craftsmen, laborers, for example --are relatively scarce.

Yet, based on an admittedly small sample,[105] it seems that some form of primogeniture was the norm. Of those wills which specified bequests to children, only a few divided property and goods equally among the offspring.[106] Generally, the bulk of the parent's urban property, along with the tools of his trade, were passed on to the eldest son. Seldom were the younger sons and daughters unprovided for: most received at least some household goods, and often sums of money. There was, however, no guarantee that the latter would actually be bequeathed, once the estate and belongings were appraised and debts settled.[107]

Because of the uncertainty of inheritance, younger sons had little holding them back from migration. The Warminster lists of householders and "young men" suggest some younger sons did choose to move elsewhere. For example, Thomas Knight and Robert Gardiner, both of whom appear on the list of young men compiled in 1649-50, apparently left Warminster upon their older brothers' inheritances of the bulk of their fathers' estates.[108]

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[105]A total of 80 wills were used in the study, including those of individuals from as broad a spectrum of urban society as possible, and from the following towns: Warminster, Westbury, Marlborough, and Salisbury. The wills are listed in Appendix D.

[106]Of the 80 wills, 52 made no mention of bequests to sons or daughters, 21 definitely described primogeniture, and only 7 divided property equally.

[107]Hence, Stephen Gawen of Westbury-- an emigrant to America, via Bristol --may have never received the £50 his father left him at his death in 1654. See PRO, Prob 11/234/81. Will of John Gawen the elder, June, 1654. Young Stephen and his sister received considerable sums of money; but the eldest son, John, was bequeathed the bulk of the estate.

[108]PRO, Prob 11/261/23. Will of Henry Knight, Feb., 1657; PRO, Prob 11/270/465. Will of Robert Gardiner the elder, April,

On the other hand, in those few instances in which partible inheritance was practiced, all of the male partners in the division of estates remained in the town, and appear on later lists of householders.[109]

Demographic pressures probably further hindered young men who had completed their apprenticeship in their quest to establish themselves in their chosen calling, or to set up households in the traditional sense. The tremendous surge of population in towns like Warminster and Trowbridge during the early decades of the century might have served to restrict opportunities for successful permanent settlement. Even those craftsmen who did manage to establish households were often forced to erect cottages on the town waste.[110] Young tradesmen might justifiably have been becoming apprehensive about future opportunities in such towns. Journeymen who had expected to advance their status within several years after apprenticeship perhaps discovered that they would be wage-earners all their lives.

1657. Most of Knight's property was bequeathed to his daughter; the elder Gardiner's first son Gerard received most of his estate.

[109]For example, Richard and John Adlam, who divided their father's property equally in 1654, both appear on the 1666 list of householders. So, too, do William and Stephen Meor. See PRO, Prob 11/240/402. Will of John Adlam, sen., 1654; PRO, Prob 11/244/95. Will of Edmund Meor, Feb., 1655.

[110]In 1635 and 1636, several Warminster craftsmen successfully petitioned the Assize justices for permission to erect cottages without the customary four acres of land. See PRO, Assi 24/20/83-4. In October 1658, nineteen people were presented at the manorial court for erecting cottages on the waste. WRO 845/Manorial Bndl. 2. Warminster Manor and Hundred, Court Papers.

What were their alternatives? Some might have journeyed to larger cities and towns, often eliciting complaints such as that from Taunton in 1653 which noted a startling increase of "journeymen, inmates, sojurners, and strangers.."[111] Some might have migrated to towns where the production of medley cloths had provided a great economic boon.[112] For other single males between the ages 16 and 30, faced with either declining apprenticeship opportunities or chances to escape the confines of wage-labor, emigration to the colonies held out the highest hope of advancement. Employment opportunities as master craftsmen in certain trades were very good both in North America and the West Indies; those trained in less useful trades could at least expect higher wages and land as compensation.[113]

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[111]Bates-Harbin, ed., Quarter Sessions Records, p. 201.

[112]Many young textile workers from Warminster and Westbury migrated to Trowbridge and Bradford-on-Avon during the late 1660's and 1670's. See WRO 77/23. Bradford-on-Avon Settlement Certificates; WRO 206/50. Trowbridge Settlement Certificates. It could be argued that people were more migratory during the 1640's and 1650's as a result of the temporary breakdown of the settlement system during those years; and that they were less migratory when settlement laws were enforced (e. g. during the 1660's and 1670's). Upon close examination, this does not prove to be the case in Wiltshire. The tremendous immigration to Trowbridge and Bradford-on-Avon during the 1660's and 1670's shows that even strictly-enforced settlement laws were no barrier to migration into towns where plenty of employment opportunities existed. Moreover, the Warminster lists prove that people were just as prone to migrate before 1640.

[113]The most useful trades in the colonies were carpenters, joiners, coopers, smiths, masons, bricklayers, and tailors. Since woollen textile production never caught on in any major American colony during the century, weavers, fullers, and clothworkers found that their skills were in less demand. Campbell, "Social Origins," p. 85; Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 213-15; Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690 (New York, 1972), p. 111; Richard Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, pp. 71, 82.

Finally, increasing attention has lately been paid to an apparently strong correlation between seventeenth-century English towns and religious radicalism or nonconformity. During the 1630's, contemporaries often commented on the heavy incidence of puritanism in urban centers. For example, Thomas Triplett, an associate of Archbishop William Laud's, remarked: ". . .where are all these pestilent nests of Puritans hatched, but in corporations, where they swarm and breed like hornet's in [a dead] horse's head."[114] On this, the judgement of many modern historians concurs. Christopher Hill, for one, has noted that during the 1630's corporations and larger towns "tended to be puritan, or at least anti-Laudian." Moreover, Protestant nonconformity was probably strongest in urban areas during the following two decades as well. The Clarendon Code, in trying to prevent the spread of Dissent into the countryside, tacitly accepted that towns would continue to be centers of religious heterodoxy.[115] Little has been done to provide statistical backing to the more impressionistic studies of Hill and others,[116] but given the

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[114] CSPD, vol. 15 (1639-40), p. 516.

[115] J. E. Christopher Hill, Economic Problems of the Church from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament (Oxford, 1963), p. 57. See also his Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London, 1964), pp. 235-6.

[116] Except, see Paul Seaver, The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560-1662 (Stanford, Calif., 1970). Seaver has concluded that "an examination in some detail of . . . mainly published material does, I believe, lend support to Hill's contention that corporations . . .tended to be puritanical." (pp. 90-1). Various other studies lend support to the notion that religious radicalism of the 1640's and 1650's was greatest in towns. See Hill, The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution, Viking Compass Books (New York, 1973), p. 183, on the geography of Ranterism. Finally, Bernard Capp has found that Fifth Monarchism was a specifically urban movement: The Fifth

socio-economic conditions prevailing in many pre-industrial urban centers, it is not far-fetched to assume that religious radicalism was most marked in towns. In great cities like London, as well as in small market towns which experienced rapid population growth, a sense of insecurity was apt to be strongest. The insecurity was further enhanced by the dependence of such communities on outside areas for foodstuffs and (as a result) their vulnerability to natural catastrophe. It is not surprising that puritanism and nonconformity flourished in these areas.[117]

For the purposes of this study, then, it will be important, first, to determine if religious radicalism was indeed strong in any Wiltshire town during the two periods of emigration to the colonies; then, to determine if religious discontent was a significant motivational factor. Although the early seventeenth-century ecclesiastical records of the Diocese of Salisbury are not as reliable for this type of analysis as they should be,[118] all the available evidence suggests that, in general, Wiltshire towns of the 1620's and 1630's were not overflowing with radical religious sects, or with people puritanically inclined, or even with

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Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Millenarianism (London, 1972), pp. 76-7, 79, 206-7.

[117]This point is well made by Alan Everitt, Change in the Provinces: The Seventeenth Century (Leicester, 1972), p. 36.

[118]For example, annual presentments of churchwardens, responding to articles of inquiry on the part of the Bishop--perhaps the most reliable source for analyzing lay religious feeling --have all disappeared, except those of the three Salisbury parishes. However, the Bishop's and Archdeacons' Act Books, which record cases held before the ecclesiastical courts, do exist. These, along with available published material, allows for some analysis of religious dissent during the 1630's.

decidedly anti-Laudian individuals. The records of Archbishop Laud's metropolitical visitations of 1634 indicates that Wiltshire as a whole was not as affected by the doctrinal and liturgical controversies of the time as might have been expected.[119] This may have been a result, in part, of the moderate handling of religious dissent by the Bishop of Salisbury, John Davenant. A critic of the Bishop, Dr. Edmund Mason, probably accurately described Davenant's method in a letter to Secretary Windebank in 1633: "...as in all Busyness of Ecclesiasticall defence, the Bishop casts backward, and retyres himself into Caution and sylence."[120] This does not mean, however, that Davenant was either entirely lax in enforcing Laudian measures or can be accused of purposely covering up puritan activity in his diocese.[121] In fact, there is reason to beleive that Davenant's rather complacent yearly reports to his Archbishop were not without foundation,[122] and that, in general, there was not as

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[119]VCH, Wilts., III, pp. 37-8.

[120]PRO, S. P. 16/233/88.

[121]For instance, Davenant was very insistent that the communion table be placed where altars previously stood-- a Laudian measure which puritans found particularly galling. To those at Aldbourne parish who opposed it, Davenant was quoted by Laud as saying: "'Tis ignorance to think that the standing of the holy table there relishes of Popery." It is interesting that the Archbishop, who did not always agree with Davenant on doctrinal matters, chose to use the Bishop's action in this affair as part of his general defence of his measures before John Bastwick, Henry Burton, and William Prynne at Star Chamber in 1637. See James Bliss, ed., The Works of Archbishop Laud (hereafter cited as Laud, Works), vol. VI, pt. 1 (Oxford, 1847), pp. 60-1. See also, CSPD, vol. 11 (1637), pp. 121-2.

[122]In 1637, Laud reported to the King that "my lord [Bishop of Salisbury] is confident, that his diocese is clean through in good order." Laud, Works, V, pt. 2, p. 324. Moreover, though Laud complained in 1634 that both the clergy and laity of Wiltshire were "as backward...towards the repair of St. Paul's church, as

much trouble with Puritans in Wiltshire as there was in East Anglia and other parts of the country.

This is not to say that all Wiltshire towns stood entirely clear of religious sectarianism or even moderate nonconformity. On the contrary, there is considerable evidence of both in Salisbury during the 1630's. Brownists and Anabaptists gained early footholds in the town and are continually mentioned in the St. Martin's and St. Thomas' churchwardens presentments of the 1620's and 1630's.[123] Even more conspicuous were manifestations of distinctly puritan behavior in the early decades of the century, along with vehement anti-Laudianism in the 1630's. This was most evident at St. Edmund's parish, where a group of men including John Ivie, Bartholomew Tookye, John Dove, and Henry Sherfield-- all "commonly reputed and taken to be such persons as doe impugne and oppose Episcopall Jurisdiction" --gained control of the select vestry, and in 1623 obtained the presentation of the Presbyterian Peter Thatcher to the benefice.[124]

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any part of England..." (Laud, Works, V, pt. 2, p. 349), it was reported in 1637 that Wiltshire was doing quite well in its contributions to the repair of St. Paul's. See CSPD, vol. 11 (1637), p. 441.

[123]DRO, Sub-dean Sarum, Churchwardens Presentments, St. Martin's (Jan. 1625; Oct. 1625; May 1631) and St. Thomas (May 1632; December 1633). The name "Anabaptist" was very loosely applied. Even though the essential doctrine of Anabaptism-- that infants should not be baptized --was generally understood, the name came to be used in a general pejorative sense to describe almost anyone who was believed to oppose the existing social and political order.

[124]PRO, S. P. 16/183/58, Testimony of John Bowen; VCH, Wilts., VI, p. 153; H. J. F. Swayne, ed., Churchwarden's Accounts of St. Edmund and St. Thomas, Sarum (Salisbury, 1896), p. 173. In 1638, Thatcher refused to pay first fruits, and the vestry of St. Edmund's retained a solicitor for his defense in the suit brought against him (see Swayne, Churchwarden's Accounts, p. 208). In his will, Thatcher bequeathed the works of Thomas Cartwright to one of his sons: P. C. C.

Thatcher quickly gained a reputation as a preacher among the town's puritanically-inclined laity and, much to the chagrin of Church authorities, increasingly drew audiences from all over the town. During the 1630's, more and more parishioners of the town's other two parishes were presented for neglecting Sunday services at their own churches to hear lectures and sermons at St. Edmund's.[125] These and other instances of puritan behavior[126] strongly suggest significant religious nonconformity in at least one Wiltshire town during the 1630's.

Moreover, there appears to be a meaningful correlation between religious radicalism and Wiltshire towns during the 1650's and 1660's as well. Devizes became a center of Baptist organization during the 1640's and 1650's; Quaker groups were reported at Calne, Chippenham, and Market Lavington in the 1650's and early 1660's. By 1669, Protestant sectaries of Wiltshire towns comprised 60 per

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112, Evelyn, proved 1641.

[125]DRO, Bishop's Act Book (Office), No. 11 (1622-33), fol. 129 (v); No. 12 (1634-5), fol. 29 (v); DRO, Sub-dean Sarum. Churchwardens Presentments, St. Thomas (June 1636, May 1637).

[126]The most celebrated instance involved Henry Sherfield, who in 1633 gained national notoriety when he was fined in Star Chamber for breaking a stained glass window of St. Edmund's church depicting the Creation. It is interesting that all but one of the members of the parish's vestry supported Sherfield's actions. See Laud, Works, VI (1), pp. 13-21; PRO, S. P. 16/183/58. Depositions of Thomas Hancock and Francis Roberts. Other instances involved Francis Dove and Matthew Bee, both of St. Edmund's. The former was hailed before the Church courts for denouncing the perambulation of St. Edmund's parish in Rogation week, 1634; the latter was accused of trying to prevent cases from being heard in church courts. See DRO, Sub-dean Sarum, Churchwardens Presentments, St. Edmund's (June 1634); DRO, Sub-dean Sarum. Sentences, confession of Francis Dove (June 1634); PRO, S. P. 16/183/58. Testimony of Michael Mackerell.

cent of the county's total 3,841 as reported by Bishop Seth Ward.[127] It is interesting, however, that the incidence of religious radicalism and Dissent was greatest in those towns which had experienced rapid demographic expansion during the seventeenth century, and, as a result, the sense of insecurity was apt to be greatest. Nearly 45 adults were presented at Bradford-on-Avon in 1622 for refusing to baptize their children. At Trowbridge, Bishop Ward found 150 Baptists, between 40 and 50 Presbyterians, and between 30 and 40 Quakers. In 1662, the churchwardens of Warminster parish presented over 75 adults for neglecting divine service and going elsewhere to hear preachers; by 1669, Bishop Ward counted between 200 and 300 sectaries in that parish.[128] Religious radicalism had so infected these three towns (and the surrounding countryside) that the government even feared uprisings in the area.[129]

Clearly, then, religious nonconformity was a marked feature of many seventeenth-century Wiltshire towns, including a number of those which sent emigrants to America between 1630 and 1660. One must consider, however, how much of a role, if any, religious discontent played in the decision of the urban emigrants to move to the colonies. Much attention has been focused on religion as a factor, particularly with regard to the so-called 'Puritan Hegira' of the

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[127]VCH, Wilts., III, pp. 102, 104; WRO, Quarter Sessions. Great Rolls, Hilary 1655; G. Lyon Turner, ed., Original Records of Early Nonconformity, I (London, 1911), pp. 106-27; Original Records, III, pp. 115-6.

[128]DRO, Churchwardens Presentments. Deaneries of Potterne and Avebury, Wilton and Wylye, 1662; Turner, Original Records, I, pp. 106-27.

[129]PRO, S. P. 29/44/83. Henry Coker to Secretary Nicholas,

1630's to New England. This is understandable, considering historians' peculiar fascination with the East Anglian emigration of that decade. Archbishop Laud's vigilance over that area's preachers, as well as harassment by overzealous church officials like Matthew Wren, Bishop of Norwich, have countless number of times been singled out as providing the main impetus for the movement to New England.[130] One historian has gone so far as to suggest that even those who emigrated to Virginia during the 1630's can be considered "non-separating puritans," who presumably found it difficult living under the Laudian regime.[131]

It is difficult to determine with any degree of certainity whether those New England-bound townsmen of Wiltshire emigrated for similar reasons. The diocesan records[132] certainly reveal no evidence of any emigrant being hailed before ecclesiastical courts and severely punished. It is possible that the absence of emigrant names may have been the result of incomplete or careless recording, or of clever avoidance of being reported at any court on the part of the

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Nov. 1661; PRO, S. P. 29/44/90.

[130]Norman Tyack provides as good a summary of the religious background of the East Anglian movement as any. See Tyack, "Migration from East Anglia," Passim, Part III. For a more modern re-hashing of the traditional analysis, see Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, Passim, Chap. 12.

[131]Ibid., pp. 431-2.

[132]The following ecclesiastical court records, all at the DRO in Salisbury, were studied: Bishop's Act Books (Office) Nos. 11-12 (1622-35); Archdeacon of Sarum. Act Books Nos. 14-15 (1624-40, with a noticeable gap between 1630-36); Archdeacon of Wiltshire. Visitation Book, 1621-42; Archdeacon of Wilts. Act Book (Office), No. 7 (1632-42); Sub-dean Sarum. Churchwardens Presentments (1612-39); Sub-dean Sarum. Sentences, Citations (1631, 1635, 1638).

emigrants. However, there is plenty of evidence that individuals were presented, cited, tried, and punished for 'puritan', or at least 'anti-Laudian', behavior during the 1630's. Certainly, men like Henry Sherfield and Francis Dove, constantly in trouble with Church officials, as well as the laymen who neglected their own services[133] to hear puritan preachers, did not escape punishment. Yet, these people apparently chose to remain in England. Perhaps an alternative explanation for the absence of recorded instances of Wiltshire urban emigrants appearing before the ecclesiastical courts is simply that none of them were "harried" from their homeland by Archbishop Laud, Bishop Davenant, or anyone else.[134]

This is not to say that the group of townsmen who left for New England were not nonconformists, anti-Laudian, or that they did not leave for religious reasons. We have already seen that nonconformity was probably fairly substantial in Salisbury, particularly at St. Edmund's parish.[135] It may be more than a coincidence that at least 21 of the emigrants from that town were members of that parish. Some, including Henry Webb, Anthony and Thomas Thatcher, and

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[133] See above, p. 118.

[134] It is curious that some who have systematically analyzed the religious background of the movement from East Anglia and southeastern England have found little direct, recorded evidence of emigrants being "harassed" by Church officials. See, in particular, Tyack, "Migration from East Anglia," pp. 345-61. See also, Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 202 and note 37. The latter two scholars reason that gaps in, and the generally disappointing nature of, official church records are most responsible.

[135] Nonconformity was always greater at St. Edmund's than at Salisbury's other two parishes. See VCH, Wilts., VI, p. 157.

Christopher Batt had strong links with the puritan faction which controlled parish affairs.[136] Moreover, many of the urban emigrants from Wiltshire found New England congregationalism appealing once they arrived in America. Of the 37 adult, male, urban emigrants who left Wiltshire for New England, 12 became freemen of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and so presumably church members. Many of the others may also have joined a puritan church, but for one reason or another did not become freemen.[137] Though none of this definitely proves that a majority of these emigrants were even moderately Puritan in England, it does suggest that the "New England Way" was a powerful magnet to some already made restless by the urban experience.

Historians have, by and large, paid less attention to

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[136]The ties between the Thatchers and the group are obvious: Thomas was the puritan incumbent Peter Thatcher's son; Anthony was Peter's brother, and actually served as curate of St. Edmund's for several years before he emigrated. Christopher Batt was Peter Thatcher's brother-in-law. NEGHR, 47 (1893), 132. Batt's younger brother, Thomas, later in the century was in constant trouble with Salisbury's church officials, and was actually excommunicated in 1670. See DRO, Sub-dean Sarum, Excommunications, June 1670. Henry Webb was a very close friend of some of the Puritan faction, two of whom-- Thomas Oviatt and Robert Good --quickly came to Webb's defence when in 1631 he was involved in a libel suit (see above, p. 60). Later in Massachusetts, Webb's daughter married Thomas Thatcher. See NEGHR, 10 (1856), 177-80.

[137]Freemanship was still restricted to members of the Colony's puritan Churches during the 1630's and 1640's. See B. Katherine Brown, "Freemanship in Puritan Massachusetts," American Historical Review, 59 (July, 1954), 865-83. Yet, the statistics of freemanship necessarily understate the number of church members in the Colony, since only between 50% and 80% of the churchmembers became freeman. It is entirely possible, then, that more of these urban emigrants were church members. The problem lies in the obscurity of many of the emigrants: nothing is known about 15 of the emigrants once they reached the Colony.

religion as a factor in the 1650's emigration to America. The exception is Mildred Campbell who, analyzing emigration between 1654 and 1685, sees religious nonconformity as a real motivating factor for a few, and as a social cement which bound most of the others together.[138] As already has been indicated, there certainly was a significant correlation between religious radicalism and mid-seventeenth-century Wiltshire towns. However, before anything definitive can be said about the role of religion in the 1650's emigration, more must be known about both the social incidence of nonconformity-- from which socio-economic groups members of the various radical religious sects were drawn --and the extent of persecution which took place in different areas during the period. For example, it is unlikely that many Quakers, perhaps the most persecuted sect of the 1650's, emigrated via Bristol at that time.[139] A recent study of early Quakerism concludes that, contrary to traditional assumptions, Interregnum Quakers from urban areas were not predominantly laborers, petty tradesmen, or artisans, but mainly substantial wholesale traders (drapers, grocers, merchants, tanners). Nor were Quaker converts particularly young during this early period. Most, instead, were over 30 years old, the median

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[138] Campbell, "Social Origins," pp. 86-9.

[139] Campbell compared a list of "early" Quakers with the Bristol list of emigrants and concluded that several hundred left during the period. See Campbell, "Social Origins," p. 87. But, she failed to identify the exact period of Quaker emigration, via Bristol. Did these so-called "Sufferers" leave during the 1650's, the 1660's, the 1670's, or the 1680's?

age being between 30 and 35.[140] Obviously, none of these general characteristics were shared by the emigrants who left during the 1650's for the West Indies and Virginia.[141] Less is known about the status of other religious sects during the Interregnum. Wiltshire certainly had its share of Baptists and even Ranters, particularly centered in towns which sent a considerable number of emigrants. Devizes, Chippenham, Malmesbury, and especially Bradford-on-Avon, Trowbridge, and Warminster were all hotbeds of sectarian activity. Hence, although there is only slight evidence that any individual emigrant from these towns was connected with religious radicalism,[142] religious dissatisfaction may have been of more consequence in the 1650's emigration than historians have traditionally assumed.

It is not my intention to get involved in the traditional debate over the relative importance of secular versus religious "causes" which has plagued most attempts to analyze seventeenth-century emigration to America. Recently, two American scholars,

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[140]Richard T. Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism, 1655-1755 (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp. 49-50, 59-60, 83-4.

[141]See Section I, B, above.

[142]In 1662, John Hillman, father of Richard, the emigrant from Trowbridge, was presented for not receiving Holy Communion and for refusing to attend services or sermons. In the same year, the emigrant Thomas Prior's mother was presented by the churchwardens of Trowbridge as an Anabaptist. Moreover, a comparison of the list of adults presented at Bradford-on-Avon in 1662 for refusing to baptize their children with the emigrants from that town reveals several common surnames. See DRO, Churchwardens Presentments. Deaneries of Potterne and Avebury, 1662.

studying East Anglian emigration during the 1630's, have challenged this either/or dichotomy-- either religion or economics --and claimed it to be "unhistorical" and "hopeless." Instead, they have pointed to an apparently strong correlation between economic dissatisfaction in urban centers and widespread religious nonconformity.[143]

To ask whether religious discontent in Wiltshire towns was a more important factor than economic discontent is surely a badly-posed question. To ask it would be to throw oneself at the mercy of the local ecclesiastical records, which simply do not allow a firm judgement one way or another. My own analysis, for example, found little evidence of a significant connection between economic unrest in Marlborough and decidedly puritan behavior there during the 1630's. On the other hand, there is evidence of such a connection having existed in Salisbury during the same decade. Can we say, then, that Salisbury's emigrants went to New England for religious reasons and those from Marlborough for more secular reasons? Probably not, since the important sources for analyzing the nature and extent of lay religious discontent in Wiltshire towns other than Salisbury are not available, and thus do not permit any such conclusion.

We have seen, however, that enough evidence does exist to allow a test of some time-honored generalizations concerning other motivational factors. For instance, it has been shown that the decline of the textile industry did not affect all Wiltshire cloth

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[143]Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 201-202.

towns evenly. The inhabitants of Chippenham, Calne, Devizes, Malmesbury and Wilton undoubtedly suffered, to a degree, as a result of their overdependence on the chronically disrupted production of white, undressed broadcloths. Yet, towns such as Trowbridge and Bradford-on-Avon-- both of which sent many emigrants to the colonies --quickly recovered from depression by the successful conversion to new medley cloth production. Moreover, the economic prosperity of neither Warminster nor Marlborough was dependent on textiles, yet both sent a significant number of emigrants to America.

We have also seen that the timing of emigration was not as directly connected to the incidence of dearth and disease as some historians have thought. One searches in vain for acute grain crises in Wiltshire towns during the late 1630's and the 1650's, two periods of substantial movement to the New World. Nor is there any evidence of inhabitants of a particular Wiltshire town being subjected to continuous, serious visitations of mortality-inducing disease during these periods.

Of more consequence, perhaps, was a noticeable closing of opportunities for that segment of the population which has been identified as that which most frequently became New World settlers. Declining apprenticeship opportunities in important urban centers, along with customs of inheritance and demographic pressures, combined during the middle decades of the century to create uncertain futures for many young, unmarried townsdwellers in the county. As as result, many opted for migration to other places within the country; others chose to emigrate to the American colonies. To

what extent these same forces influenced the decision of their fellow emigrants from forest-pasture regions of the county is the question to which we must now turn.

C. THE RURAL BACKGROUND

Before one can assess the factors which led Wiltshire's rural emigrants to abandon their homeland to settle in the New World, it is necessary to describe, briefly, that particular setting which they left. It is, however, no simple scene that has to be set, for situated as it is, Wiltshire consists of a complex of neighboring farming regions.[1] Soils, sub-soils, bases, terrain, and topography are diverse enough to make generalization difficult. Fortunately, the task is greatly simplified by the work of Eric Kerridge, whose detailed analyses of the county's agricultural regions and agrarian development has left countless students of the period in his debt.[2]

Much of the county is dominated by an expanse of chalk downland stretching from Dorset, Hampshire and Berkshire, and culminating in the Chiltern Hills of Oxfordshire. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this was a region of small nucleated villages, common arable fields, and spacious downland commons, which was little affected by enclosures until the eighteenth century.[3] Sheep-and-

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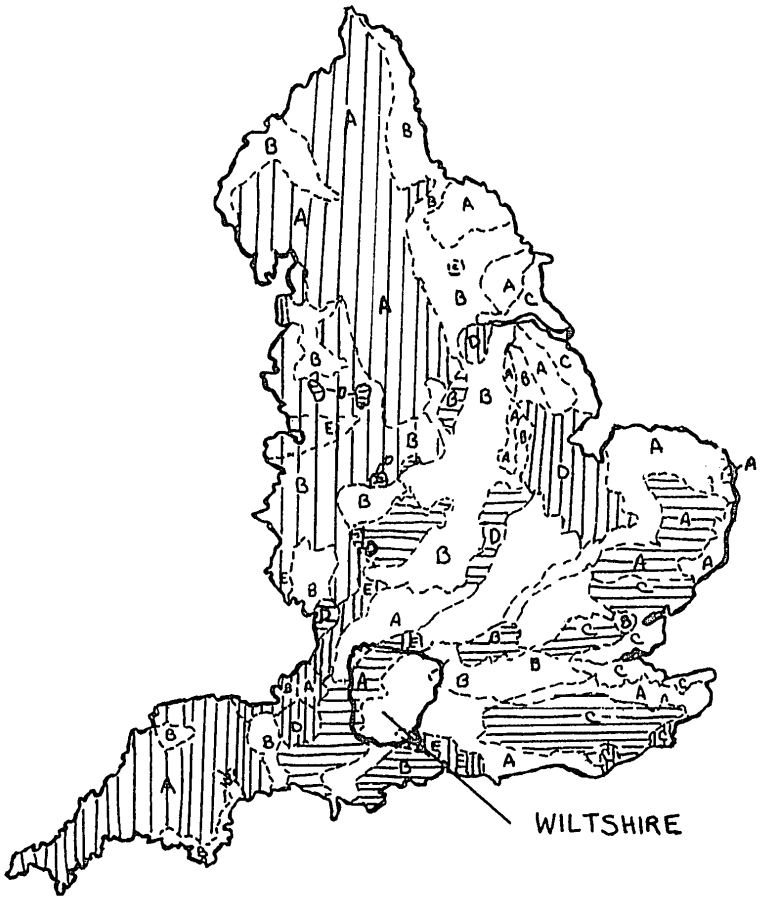
[1] See Figure 12, over.

[2] Dr. Kerridge first turned his attention to Wiltshire's sixteenth-and seventeenth-century agricultural history in his doctoral dissertation, "The Agrarian Development of Wiltshire, 1540-1640" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London, 1951). His research spawned a number of articles and monographs, too numerous to mention here, but which shall be cited when necessary.

[3] Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 112-13.

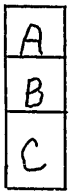
FIGURE 12.-- EARLY MODERN ENGLAND'S FARMING REGIONS*



*The figure is based on that found in Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History, p. 4. The figure's legend appears on the following page.

Key to Figure 12

Mixed Farming Types



A — Sheep and corn

B — Corn and stock (in clay vales)

C — Corn and stock (in marshland)

Pasture Farming Types

A — Dairying and pig-keeping

B — Stock-keeping with corn-growing, sometimes with dairying

C — Stock-fattening and pig-keeping

D — Stock-rearing and pig-keeping, sometimes with horse-breeding

Wood Pasture

A — Cattle and sheep rearing; some dairying (on fells and moorland)

B — Rearing and fattening

C — Fattening of sheep with some cattle

D — Stock-fattening with horse-breeding, dairying, fishing, fowling

E — Dairying

Open Pasture

corn husbandry was universal. Since chalky soils suited both grass and sheep, the sheep-downs naturally formed about half the area, and village flocks of "Chalk" Wiltshire commonly amounted to a thousand or more sheep. Yet, the primary purpose of keeping sheep was not for wool or mutton, but for the dung of the fold, considered essential for making the arable fertile. In short, sheep were always of lesser importance than that activity which occupied three quarters of the other half of the farming area-- the production of barley and wheat. Together, these two grains were by and far the most important market crops, and constituted the chief crops in the region.[4]

The structure of society in early seventeenth-century Chalk Wiltshire was typical of other mixed farming regions in southern and eastern England. Manorial organization was still very strong, with powerful overlords like the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery controlling vast estates. Village society was hierarchical, and the period was marked by a steady increase in the landed resources of the large farmers at the expense of the small. Family farmers did not entirely disappear, but their numbers steadily dwindled, in contrast to the small farmers of the dairying regions of Wiltshire,

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[4] Ibid., pp. 90-9, 124. A survey of estates in the tithings of Week, Bottenham, and Charlton in Downton parish, taken in 1628, shows that nearly 60% of the land was used for common sheep grazing; 85% of the remaining 40% was devoted to grain production. See WRO 490/783. Wheat and barley were the two most commonly mentioned grains in a group of randomly-selected farmers' inventories: Robert Carpenter alias Wheeler, Arch. Sarum, 27 Nov., 1630; Robert Morris, Arch Sarum, 26 Apl., 1642; Henry Welsteed, Arch. Sarum, 25 Mar., 1633; Robt. Ley, Cons. Sarum, 22 June, 1650; John Eastman, Arch Sarum, 11 Sept., 1633. All of these inventories are in the WRO.

whose numbers multiplied rapidly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[5]

These characteristics were not entirely true of all parts of Chalk Wiltshire; subtle differences in agrarian organization and land utilization are noticeable, particularly in fringe areas. The Vale of Wardour (see Figure 13) is a case in point. In the westerly sections of the Vale, the soil is composed of chalky clay marls, more suitable to pasture farming than traditional sheep-and-corn husbandry. During the early modern period, pasture and meadow were much more abundant there, arable less so, and the land was much more extensively enclosed by the fourth decade of the seventeenth century.[6] Though manorial organization was by no means weak in the Vale, and society no less hierarchical than in other parts of the Chalk, the incidence of family farms was greater, and in the Vale's most westerly district, was very similar to other dairying regions of the county.[7]

Two other mixed farming areas should be mentioned: the Corallian Ridge and the Wiltshire Cotswolds. The former is a narrow strip of hills which divides northern Wiltshire into almost

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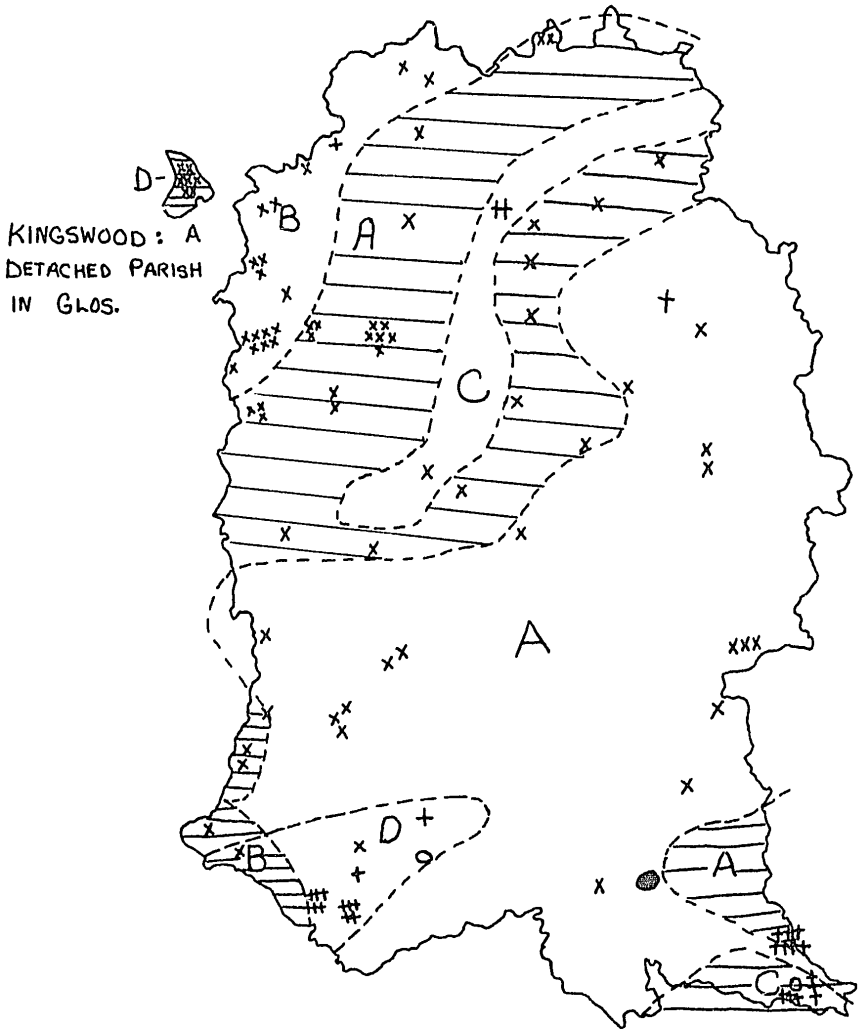
[5]VCH, Wilts., IV, pp. 46, 49, 57-60.

[6]Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 78-90, 149-50. Through the use of numerous manorial surveys, Kerridge has shown that close to 15% less land was under plough and 16% more land was used as permanent pasture in the Vale than in Chalk Wiltshire proper. Moreover, between 31-40% of the land in four Vale of Wardour parishes was already enclosed by 1640.

[7]E. Kerridge, The Farmers of Old England (London, 1973), p. 89.

FIGURE 13.--WILTSHIRE FARMING REGIONS AND ORIGINS OF WILTSHIRE'S RURAL EMIGRANTS



(A key to the Figure follows on the next page)

Key to Figure 13

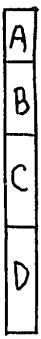
† 1630's emigrant

× 1650's emigrant

○ ten 1630's emigrants

◉ ten 1650's emigrants

Mixed Farming Types



Chalk-- Sheep and Corn

Cotswolds-- Sheep and Corn, with some stock-rearing

Corallian Ridge-- Sheep and Corn, with some pig-keeping

Vale of Wardour-- Sheep and Corn, with some stock-keeping and rearing

Pasture Farming Types

Dairying (cheese), with some pig-keeping

Dairying (butter), with some pig-keeping

Stock-keeping with corn-growing; some dairying

Stock-rearing and pig-keeping

two equal halves. The soils are chalky sands and gravel, and the husbandry practiced during the early modern period was, again, basically sheep and corn. However, during the course of the period, the boundaries of this narrow, mixed farming area contracted as the surrounding dairying country developed. Hence, dairy farming was not uncommon, at least on the fringes of the Ridge.[8]

The Cotswold district of Wiltshire, situated in the extreme northwest of the county, comprises only a small part of the greater Cotswold region which spreads over most of eastern Gloucestershire. Where the soil is thin and loose, sheep-and-corn farming is again the norm, the sheep being a more important source of wool than in the Chalk. On the easterly slopes (including most of Wiltshire's Cotswold parishes), however, the soil turns to stiffer clays, is less easily ploughed and drained, and better suited to permanent grass.[9] Hence, in the Wiltshire Cotswold parishes of Atworth, Box, Corsham, Grittleton, and Nettleton, the practice of pasture farming (both dairying and rearing) mingled during the period with sheep-and-corn husbandry.[10] In these Cotswold parishes

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[8] E. Kerridge, The Agricultural Revolution (London, 1967), pp. 63-4; Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 53-68.

[9] Ibid., pp. 68-70; Kerridge, Agricultural Revolution, p. 64.

[10] Ibid., p. 66. See, also, the following inventories which suggest fairly widespread dairying and rearing activity: Wm. Flower (Box), Arch. Wilts., 24 Apl., 1668; Rich. Broad (Hazelbury, Box), Arch. Wilts., 31 Oct., 1694; Wm. Penchin (Box), Arch. Wilts., 22 Apl., 1695; John Jones (Corsham), Peculiar Court of the Perpetual Vicar of Corsham, I, f. 174, 27 Apl., 1666; Robt. Smith (Corsham), Pec. Ct., f. 199, 30 Aug., 1673. All of these inventories are in the WRO.

where pastoral farming was becoming common, moreover, accompanying piecemeal enclosures were changing the countryside, greatly reducing the area of common, open-field cultivation, and weakening manorial control.[11]

Between the Wiltshire Cotswold and Chalk regions lay two vales, divided most of their length by the Corallian Ridge, and extending along the western boundary of the county-- "a dirty clayey.../and/ woodsere country," John Aubrey called it. The land is indeed composed of various types of clay, and had been enclosed from extensive forest areas which were cleared partly during the early modern period. The land is appropriate chiefly to natural grass, which is mainly applied to the pasturing of cows. Where the grass is sour and otherwise suitable enough, cheese is mostly produced; in other districts, such as the south-western corner of the county, butter is produced; and where pastures proved too rich for cheese production-- as on the chalkier clays --dairying gives way to grazing for meat. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, only enough grains were produced there to supply family farmers' annual needs, so that over 70 per cent of the land was given over to meadow or pasture.[12]

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[11]It should be emphasized that some of these Cotswold parishes, such as Box and Corsham, were not generally enclosed until the end of the seventeenth century. See Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," p. 71. Yet, cooperative, open-field husbandry, strictly regulated by the court-leet of the manor, was never as much a fact of life as it was in the Chalk.

[12]Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 30-42; Britton, ed., The Nat. Hist. of Wilts. by John Aubrey, p. 10.

Moreover, enclosure by agreement had done much to transform the landscape, so that by the 1650's approximately three quarters of the area was enclosed or otherwise in severalty.[13]

Tucked in the extreme southeastern corner of the county is another pasture-farming region (see Figure 14). This area, which by the seventeenth century included the parishes of Bramshaw, Landford, Plaitford, Whiteparish, West Dean, West Grimsted, as well as some tithings of Downton parish, was somewhat unique. Where the soils were suitable-- as, for example, in Weeke, Barford, and Redlinch tithings of Downton --sheep-and-corn husbandry and agrarian development similar to the Chalk region was the norm; where soils were of stiff clay and bounded by forests-- as, for example, in Hamptworth tithing of Downton parish, Landford, Plaitford, and the southern tithings of Whiteparish --cattle rearing, pig-keeping, and some dairying were the major pursuits, and agrarian organization was much more typical of other Wiltshire pasture farming regions.[14]

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[13]"Severalty" or "several land" was land free of common rights, though not necessarily enclosed. See Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," p. 35.

[14]WRO 490/782. Valuation of Downton Property, 1628; WRO 490/783. Survey of Estates in Several Tithings of Downton, 1628; G. Matcham, "The Hundred of Downton", in Sir Richard Colt Hoare, The Modern History of South Wilts., III (London, 1834), pp. 39, 57-9; Matcham, "The Hundred of Frustfield," in Hoare, Mdn. Hist. of So. Wilts., III, pp. 81, 94; C. C. Taylor, "Whiteparish: A Study of the Development of a Forest-Edge Parish," in W. A. M., 62 (1967), 80, 92, 95. See, also, the following inventories (all at the WRO) of Whiteparish, Landford, Plaitford, and Hamptworth tithing of Downton: John Downing, Arch. Sarum, 26 Jan., 1646; Simon Sampson, Arch. Sarum, 6 Feb., 1637; John Harris, Arch. Sarum, 1 Dec., 1638; John Rolfe, Cons. Sarum, 8 Oct., 1625; Robt. Emerie, Arch. Sarum, 4 Jul., 1626; German Bowler, Arch. Sarum, 31 Oct., 1635; John Pressie, Arch. Sarum, 4 Jul., 1626.

FIGURE 14.-- SOUTH-EASTERN WILTSHIRE-- GEOLOGY AND FARMING PRACTICES*

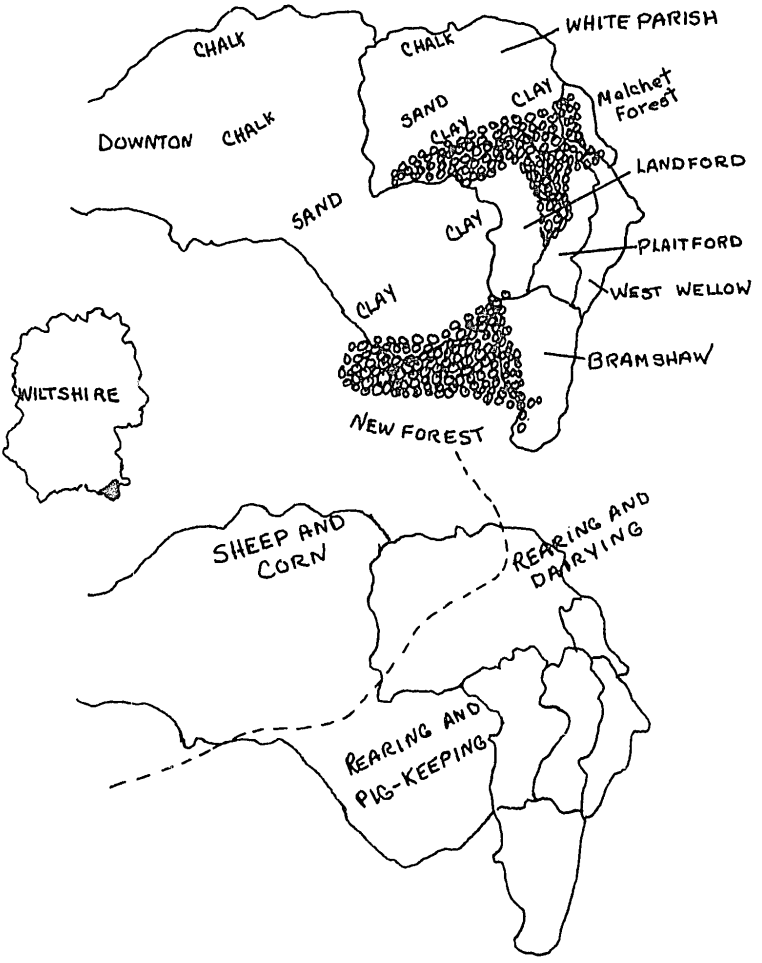

*Figure 14 was constructed through the use of the sources cited in footnote 14 in the text.

The structure of society in all of these pastoral-- dairying and rearing --regions of Wiltshire was, in general, very different from that of the Chalk. The most striking dissimilarity was the weakness or lack of manorial control in the pasture-farming regions where common cultivation and open fields were fast disappearing. Demesnes of many manors were being sold off during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and manorial obligations lapsed.[15] Partly because of this, population increased steadily in these regions,[16] so that by the mid-seventeenth century a pattern of small, largely enclosed, family-held farming units had developed.

It has been suggested that even the people of the pastoral and mixed farming regions differed greatly. John Aubrey noted that whereas the people of Wiltshire's downland ("Chalk") region were "dry, more active and industrious," those of the pastoral areas were "lazy, contemplative and venerous":

> Hereabouts [in "Cheese" Wiltshire] is but little tillage or hard labour. They only milk cows and make cheese. They feed chiefly on milk meats, which cool their brains too much and hurts their inventions. Their circumstances make them melancholy, contemplative and malicious, by consequence thereof come more lawsuits out of North Wiltshire, at least double the number to the southern parts. . . .[17]

One need not follow all Aubrey's reasoning, or accept his obvious

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[15]Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 36-42, 294-5, 449.

[16]Population trends in both pasture- and mixed-farming areas will be dealt with below, as will the connection between manorial strength and population increase by immigration.

[17]Britton, ed., The Nat. Hist. of Wilts. by John Aubrey, p. 10.

exaggerations without reservation. Yet, his arguments are not entirely unconvincing. The dairy graziers of Wiltshire's pastoral regions did have a relatively easy life, as well as a high degree of independence from landlords, making them a race apart from the common-field farmers of the sheep-and-corn regions. In the words of one historian: "They were as different as Chalk and Cheese."[18]

Combined with information regarding the geographic origins of Wiltshire's non-urban emigrants, the differences between the two become very suggestive indeed. As Figure 13 clearly shows, only one of the 1630's emigrants and 26[19] of the 1650's emigrants, were from Chalk Wiltshire. This means that a substantial number of Wiltshire's emigrants never experienced life under the authority of manorial courts, that few had any experience with what Sumner Chilton Powell has called "the web of open-field life", or even any large-scale grain production. The significance of this-- as well as the fact that so many of the emigrants were from wood-pasture regions[20] --has, by and large, escaped the attention of colonial historians who seek to explain why certain colonists chose one place of settlement over another, why they established one agricultural system instead of another, or if and how the American environment altered

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[18]Kerridge, The Farmers of Old England, p. 58.

[19]It should be added that 10 of these 26 were from Fisherton Anger, an adjoining suburb of Salisbury, and a village which was not strictly agrarian in character or organization.

[20]Another look at Figures 3 and 4 (above, pp. 43, 44) reveals that the majority of Gloucestershire's and Somerset's non-urban emigrants who left during the 1650's were from pastoral regions as well.

life styles in general.[21] Interesting as they are, these questions must defer, for the time being, to the more important question of how the Wiltshire emigrants' pastoral origins relate to the problem of motivation.

As was true of some of the Wiltshire towns, the population of many of that county's rural parishes increased steadily, in some cases dramatically, throughout the sixteenth century and several decades into the seventeenth century. The following graphs[22] reveal that the demographic histories of rural communities within the Cotswold, Vale of Wardour, and pasture-farming regions-- those areas which were most affected by emigration

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[21]Only Sumner Chilton Powell attempted to analyze the colonists' Old World farming backgrounds as they related to the type of agricultural system established in New England. Yet, Powell's insistence that Wiltshire's emigrants to Sudbury-- the Goodenowes of Semley and Donhead St. Andrew, the Haynes' of Sutton Mandeville --accepted Sudbury's open-field land division and strictly-regulated cooperative farming practices because they were accustomed to this in England may have been somewhat unfounded. We have seen that these Vale of Wardour parishes' fields may not have been so "open," that manorial obligations may not have been so strict, and that pasture-farming, rather than sheep-and-corn husbandry, was more common there than Powell suggests. See Powell, Puritan Village, pp. 95-6. Edmund Morgan has recently suggested that the English geographic origins of many of Virginia's early immigrants may have affected their attitude towards work in the colony. Yet, he offers no evidence that Virginia's immigrants were from forest-pasture regions of England. See Morgan, American Slavery-American Freedom, pp. 64-6. See, also, Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," pp. 208-21. Most colonial historians would admit that much research is needed on the relationship between the immigrant's place of origin in England and his subsequent experience in early America.

[22]Figures 15-19 are based on population estimates arrived at in Appendix E.

between 1635 and 1660 --were basically similar; and, at the same time, somewhat different from that of communities within the sheep-and-corn Chalk. The population of the one Chalk parish analyzed, Broad Chalk in south-central Wiltshire, grew more gradually during the sixteenth century and peaked earlier (around 1600) than the populations of Box, Lacock, Tisbury, and Whiteparish. Demographic increase continued in the latter parishes into the fourth and fifth decades of the seventeenth century, before levelling off or declining shortly thereafter.

The reasons for the continued demographic growth within these pastoral regions are not entirely clear. Joan Thirsk has posited an interesting thesis which seeks to connect the custom of partible inheritance with population growth in forest-pasture districts.[23] That is, the prospect of inheriting lands could have anchored young people, especially younger sons, in their native parishes, led them to marry younger, and to have more children. The difficulties of determining whether this was a key factor in the continued seventeenth-century population growth in the Wiltshire pastoral parishes are manifold. The major difficulty is that specific bequests of landed property in seventeenth-century Wiltshire wills are very rare. In fact, of the 90 wills analyzed, only 13 specified definite bequests of land.[24] A possible explanation

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[23]Joan Thirsk, "Industries in the Countryside," in Fisher, ed., Essays in the Economic and Social History, pp. 77-9.

[24]The wills studied were of individuals who lived in the following parishes: Whiteparish; Landford; Plaitford; the rural tithings of Downton; Donhead St. Mary; Donhead St. Andrew; Semley; Sutton Mandeville; Tisbury; the rural tithings of Chippenham;

FIGURE 15.-- POPULATION GROWTH IN A COTSWOLD COMMUNITY: BOX, 1525-1676

FIGURE 16.-- POPULATION GROWTH IN A "CHEESE" WILTS. COMMUNITY: LACOCK, 1525-1676

FIGURE 17.-- POPULATION GROWTH IN A FOREST-PASTURE COMMUNITY: WHITEPARISH, ca. 1585-1676

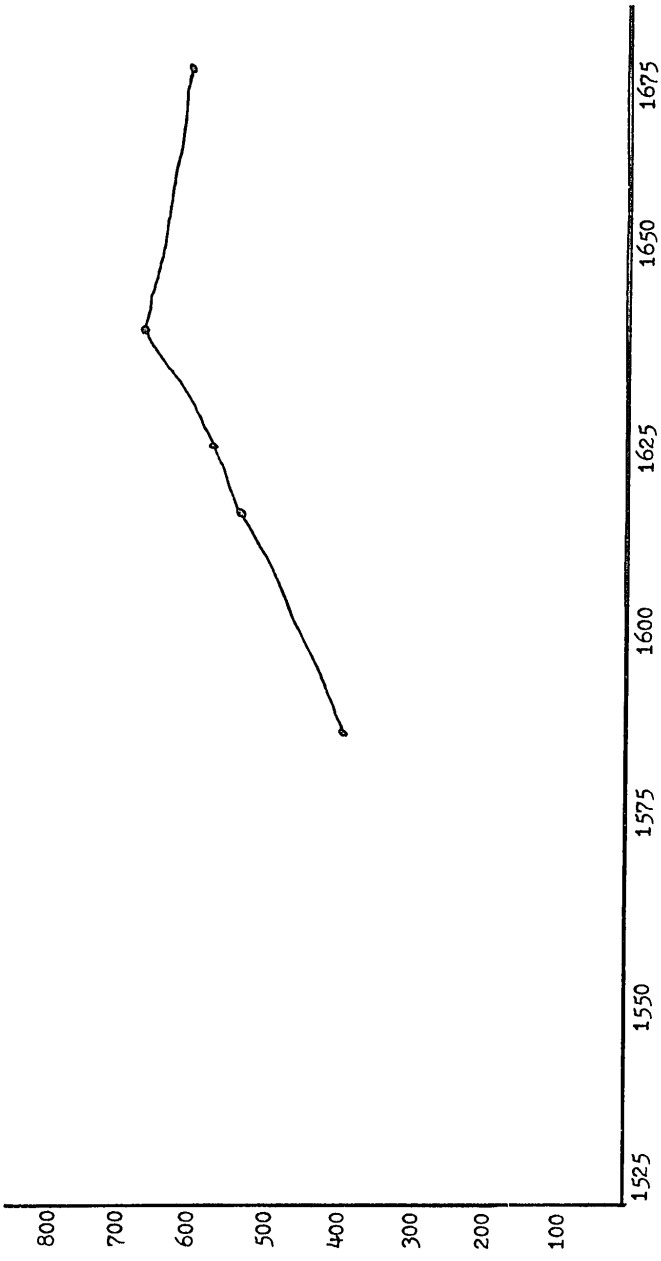


FIGURE 18.-- POPULATION GROWTH IN A VALE OF WARDOUR COMMUNITY: TISBURY, ca. 1580-1676

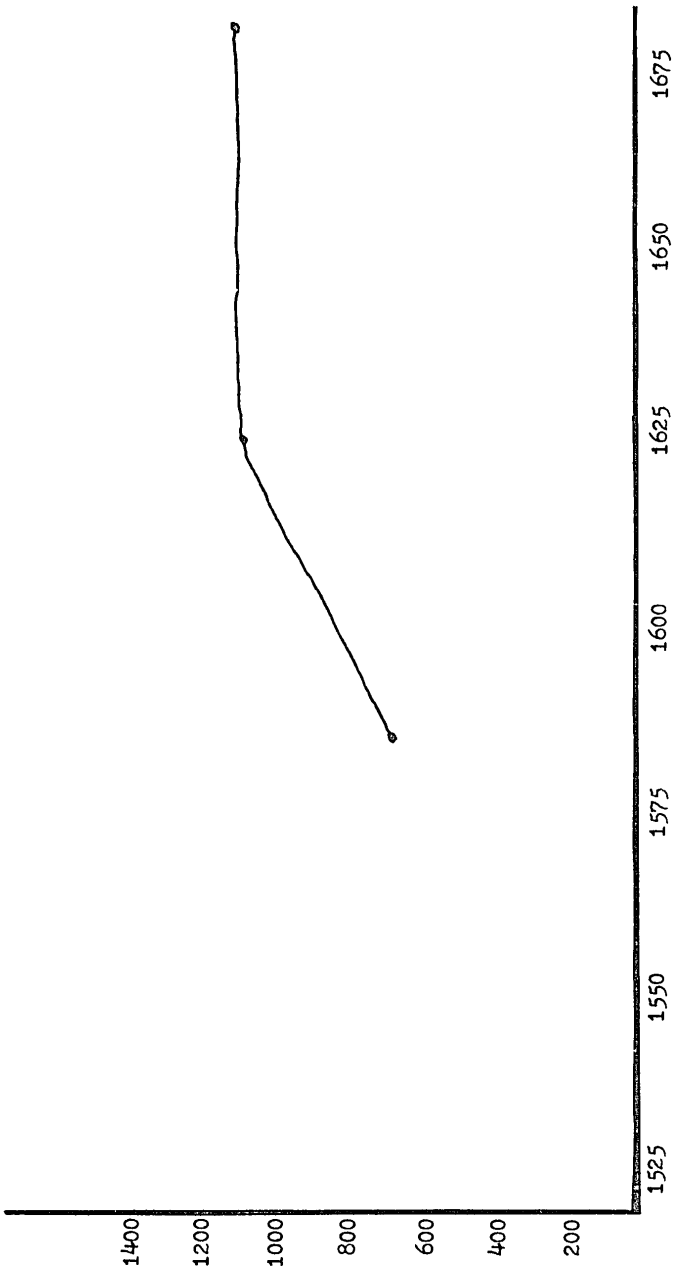
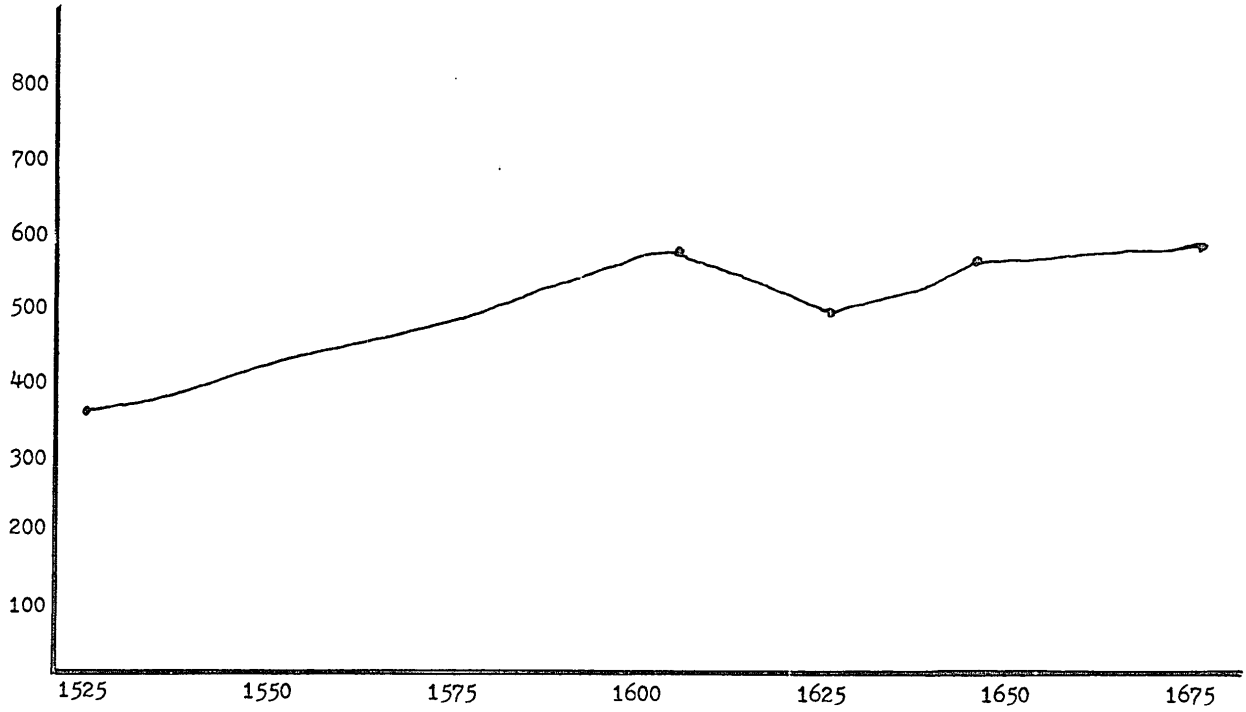


FIGURE 19.-- POPULATION GROWTH IN A "CHALK" WILTS. COMMUNITY: BROAD CHALK, 1525-1676



is that most of the testators occupied lands that were copyholds for life or lives, that were held upon the will of the lord of the manor (tenants at will), or under short-term leases-- none of which were heritable. Only in the wills of freeholders, copyholders of inheritance, or long-term leaseholders could one expect to find any evidence of inheritance of land. Unfortunately, none of these were typical in most parts of seventeenth-century Wiltshire.[25] At any rate, what little evidence there is suggests that partible inheritance was very rarely practiced[26] as late as the early seventeenth century in Wiltshire, and thus probably was not a major factor in the continued demographic expansion of the pasture-farming parishes under study.

On the other hand, it is entirely possible that much of the population growth of these parishes resulted from immigration. No set of comprehensive lists of inhabitants-- comparable to those of seventeenth-century Warminster town --exists, making it particularly

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Corsham; Lacock; and Box. They are listed in Appendix F. The following test was made in analyzing inheritance customs: if the will insisted that, after the death of the wife, all land should descend to the eldest son, then the practice of primogeniture existed; if the land was divided among sons or all of the children, then partible inheritance was the norm.

[25]Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 334-6. For example, John Sanders, father of the 1638 emigrant of the same name, held copyhold lands in the parish of Downton. At the time of his death, he bequeathed considerable sums of money to his children (male and female), but no mention was made of his landholdings. See PRO, Prob 11/209/38; WRO 893/7. Court Book of the Manor and Borough of Downton, 1631-36.

[26]Only 3 of the 13 wills which specify bequests of land indicate partible inheritance. Thirsk conceded that by the sixteenth century, instances of partible inheritance are hard to find in lowland England, "except on some freak estates." Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History, p. 12.

difficult to prove that immigration served to swell the populations of pasture-farming parishes. There is some scattered evidence, however, to suggest that it was a contributing factor. First, biographical particulars of deponents at the diocese's ecclesiastical courts show that late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century migration into various pasture-farming and Cotswold parishes was substantial (see Table 12). Moreover, the depositions indicate that most of the immigrants were relatively young (in their twenties and early thirties), and that most had settled fairly recently (between several months and 15 years before they deposed). Second, two separate "valuations" of property in the parish of Box-- taken for taxation purposes in 1628 and 1654[27] --lend weight to these findings: 28 of the 62 property-holders listed in 1654 had surnames which did not appear on the 1628 list, and thus were possibly recent immigrants to the parish.[28] Combined, both sets of sources tend to suggest that at least a portion of the early seventeenth-century population growth in Wiltshire pastoral areas was a result of immigration. The significance of this in terms of emigration to the American colonies must not be lost sight of: a great majority of Wiltshire's rural emigrants

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[27]The first list is entitled, "Box, Haselbury, &Ditcheridge Rate and Valuation, 1628," and has been published in W.A.M., 43 (1927), 339-41. The second is entitled, "A Valuation of every p̃sons liveing in Box, Ditchridge, and Haselbury, 23 October, 1654," and is at the WRO (ref. WRO 894.4, fols. 15-17).

[28]One can only deal in possibilities here, since there is a chance that the earlier list may have been faulty in not recording every major property-holder.

TABLE 12

IMMIGRATION TO RURAL AREAS OF WILTSHIRE, 1615-1668[a]

Rural Area	# of Deponents	# born there	# immigrated	Ages of immigrants					Immigrant's length of stay					
				21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	over 60	under 5 yrs	5-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	over 30
Whitep.-Plaitford-Landford-Downton (Forest-pasture)	51	30	21(41%)	9	6	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	-	3
Donheads-Tisbury-Semley-S. Mandeville (Vale of Wardour)	47	31	16(34%)	6	2	5	-	3	5	2	-	3	3	3
Box-Corsham-Lacock-Chippenham (Cheese & Cotswold)	62	31	31(50%)	8	8	5	2	5	6	6	5	3	3	3
Totals	160	92	68(42%)	23	16	13	3	10	14	12	10	10	6	11

[a]--The table was constructed through the use of depositions among the records of the Consistory Court of Sarum, 1615-68 (ref. DRO, Diocese of Sarum, Consistory Court. Depositions, Bks. No. 30-34, 36-43, 45-53c, 54-7). In order to sort out town-dwelling deponents of Chipenham and Downton, care was taken to include only those deponents from rural tithings of both parishes. Other rules of evidence followed in utilizing this source are those employed by Peter Clark in his analysis of Kentish deposition biographies. P. Clark, "The Migrant in Kentish Towns," pp. 118-21. See, also, Section II, B, p. 96, note 79, above.

were from regions of England whose inhabitants demonstrated a habit of migration. People accustomed to moving around undoubtedly found it easier to pick up roots again to cross the Atlantic than those from areas with more stable populations.

What, in turn, induced immigration into Wiltshire's pastoral regions? Two possible reasons leap to mind. First was the relatively weak manorial framework of these regions, of which mention has already been made. True manorial control--as, for example, existed over most of Wiltshire's Chalk --tended to discourage the immigration of outsiders and squatters on the waste. Both lord and tenants shared an interest in discouraging outsiders who threatened to devour waste land and commons in their search for a bare subsistence. Where this important inhibiting factor was being removed or had disappeared entirely, a major roadblock to immigration was removed.[29] A second factor which may have induced immigration to some of these areas was the attraction of rural industries. The textile industry, in particular, was firmly rooted in both Cheese and Cotswold Wiltshire; and despite the disruptions of the broadcloth industry during the first decades of the seventeenth century,[30] the possibility

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[29]The weakening of manorial control in Lacock is a case in point. Throughout the early decades of the seventeenth century, the court baron of Lacock fell into decay and rarely met. It was during this period that the population of the parish increased significantly (see Appendix E), and signs of overcrowding appear (see below, pp. 150-1). Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 292-3.

[30]See below, pp. 152-5

of eking out a bare living as an unskilled clothworker may still have served as a compelling force.

Whatever the reasons for immigration or general population growth, one of the inevitable results of the concentrated demographic expansion during the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the pasture-farming regions was intense pressure on landed resources. The first sign of this development was the increasing subdivision of landholdings. Kerridge has shown that in Cheese and Cotswold Wiltshire, the number of "landless" (under one-acre) and "dwarf" (between one- and twenty-acre) holdings increased significantly between the periods 1540-1590 and 1591-1640. In Cheese Wiltshire, for example, about one half of the cultivators possessed less than 20 acres during the first period (1540-1590); by the second period (1591-1640), the number of holdings amounting to less than 20 acres had increased to nearly 70 per cent.[31] Undoubtedly, population pressure was responsible for much of this.

Another manifestation of population growth was a marked increase in the number of illegal cottagers and squatters. The statute 31 Eliz. cap. vii allowed persons to build a cottage only if they held at least four acres of land.[32] Justices of the Peace had dispensing power, however, and petitions for

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[31]Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 408-39. Kerridge's analysis has shown, moreover, that there was a significant increase in dwarf and landless holdings in certain Vale of Wardour parishes as well.

[32]The act also forbade individuals to receive lodgers or "inmates."

exceptions to the law, usually presented with with the approval of the lords of the manors and recommendations of ministers and parishioners, are legion throughout the reigns of James I and Charles I, and during the Interregnum.[33] Occasionally, the petitions specify why there was difficulty acquiring the four acres. For example, early in the seventeenth century the vicar of Lacock petitioned the Wiltshire justices for permission to erect 15 cottages, since without them 60 persons would "like/ly/... lye in the streete for want of houses." In 1651, a laborer petitioned to build a cottage at Great Durneford, where there was a "greate scarcity of a/sic/ houses for labouring people."[34]

These petitions were usually granted, but more often, illegal cottages were simply erected on commons and waste. This led resentful inhabitants, fearing that their common pasture was being diminished or that casual laborers would become burdens to the parish, to register protests before the J.P.'s. During the period, 1620-1660, constables', grand and hundred juries' presentments were filled with notices of illegal cottagers. Complaints from parishes in the southeastern corner of the county--Downton, Whiteparish, Landford --were particularly numerous. In 1646, the hundred jury of Downton presented no fewer than

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[33]The petitions are too numerous to list separately, but can be found in the Quarter Sessions' Great Rolls, usually following constables', hundred and grand juries' presentments.

[34]HMC, Various, I, p. 82; WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Trinity 1651. The difficulty acquiring land and establishing households as a possible motivating factor behind the emigration from pastoral districts will be dealt with below.

seventeen persons for illegally erecting cottages on the parish's waste.[35] Moreover, the situation in various Cheese parishes was apparently just as bad. The Lacock Abbey court rolls, for instance, contain "scores" of presentments for encroachments on highways and waste as a result of illegal extension or building of cottages.[36]

It is evident, then, that many of Wiltshire's pastoral regions had a surplus population, consisting mainly of cottagers in possession of insufficient land. These were the same regions where the rural textile industry-- always dependent on considerable labor resources --firmly established itself very early on.[37] Certainly, by the end of the sixteenth century, a portion of the inhabitants of Wiltshire's pasture-farming areas was, to some degree, dependent on the cloth industry.[38] As Figure 20 suggests,

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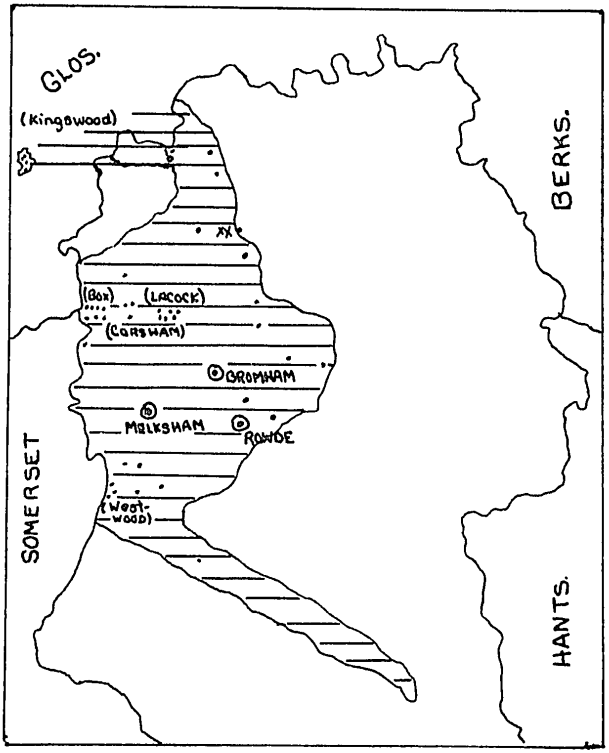
[35]WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Hilary 1633, Hilary 1635, Hilary 1638, Hilary 1646, Hilary 1651. At Whiteparish, there is evidence that much of the seventeenth-century population growth was absorbed by the subdivision of existing houses into tenements and the erection of cottages on the common land to the south of the village. See C. C. Taylor, "Whiteparish," 97.

[36]The period covered in the analysis was 1627 to 1647. See W. A. M., 50 (1942-4), 128.

[37]Over a decade ago, Joan Thirsk posited the interesting thesis that the location of England's rural industries was determined less by such factors as the availability of natural resources, good communications, markets and ports than by an abundant labor supply in places where farming did not afford sufficient monetary rewards or did not constitute a full-time occupation. See Thirsk, "Industries in the Countryside," pp. 70-5.

[38]Exactly how many, and to what degree, people in these regions depended on income from a textile craft is a difficult question to answer. An attempt will be made (Table 13, below) to determine the occupational structure of several parishes lying within the Wiltshire cloth region.

FIGURE 20.-- WILTSHIRE RURAL EMIGRANTS, 1635-1660, AND THE LOCATION OF THE WILTSHIRE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*



*The figure is based, in part, on that produced in Ramsay, The Wilts. Woollen Industry, p. ii. The lined area represents the location of the broadcloth industry, ca. 1620. The villages of Bromham, Melksham, and Rowde have been singled out since they were the key rural centers of the industry at that time. The geographic origins of the rural emigrants, 1635-38, are marked by x's, those of the rural emigrants, 1654-60, are marked by dots.

nearly all of Cheese Wiltshire, as well as much of Cotswold Wiltshire, was given over to cloth production. As a result, it has been easy to identify the disruptions of the Wiltshire textile industry as a major factor inducing emigration to America from the county's cloth districts between 1635 and 1660. But, the same questions asked in the analysis of urban emigration are pertinent here as well. Did the depression in the textile industry affect all areas and individuals equally? Which rural areas were adversely affected and how seriously? Which groups of workers were hardest hit? Once again, a brief examination of the development of Wiltshire's woollen industry during the period, 1620-1660, may provide some answers to these questions.

The industry's general course of development has already been traced in Section II, B.[39] The short, but devastating, depression of the early 1620's affected probably all regions of rural broadcloth production, but the Bromham and Rowde district evidently suffered most.[40] Disruptions in trade caused by the Thirty Years' War, competition from abroad, and changing tastes in fashion insured that the depression in the manufacture of undressed, white broadcloths would be chronic, and that unemployment among weavers, spinners, tuckers, and fullers who were tied to the production of the "Old Draperies" would persist throughout the following decades. In 1647, the broadweavers of

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[39]See above, pp. 65-76.

[40]PRO, S.P. 14/115/58; HMC, Various, I, p. 94; WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Easter 1622; Ramsay, The Wilts. Woollen Industry, pp. 77-8.

Bromham, Rowde, and Melksham depicted their misery: many were out of work entirely and others were considerably under-employed. Another petition in the same year indicated how far the demand for spinners and carders had diminished.[41] The 1650's brought little relief for those rural workers tied to the traditional broadcloth industry. A fuller of the Forest of Pewsham (near Chippenham) complained of "worke concerning his trade being very scant," while a Bromham broadweaver noted the difficulty, because of depressed wages, of buying a house in the village.[42]

Most of the continuing complaints about depression, under-employment, unemployment, and general misery resulting from the decline of the industry came from one distinct area-- the central broadcloth-producing district around Bromham, Rowde, and Melksham. Curiously, very little was heard, after the 1620's, from those areas which had adapted to the trying circumstances surrounding broadcloth production in the early seventeenth century by successfully converting to the manufacture of new, more profitable, types of cloth. Indeed, what proved to be the salvation of several important Wiltshire clothing towns-- the large-scale fabrication of "Spanish" medleys[43]--may also have saved some rural textile areas as well. It is difficult to place the location of rural medley manufacture with any precision; but,

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[41] HMC, Various, I, p. 115; PRO, Assi 24/21/56r.

[42] WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Easter 1653.

[43] See above, p. 74. The rural manufacture of serges was also becoming important, most notably in Lacock, but not until after 1660. Ramsay, The Wilts. Woollen Industry, pp. 110-11.

scattered evidence suggests that it flourished primarily along the Somerset-Wiltshire border, between Warminster and Bradford-on-Avon, was spreading north-west as far as Kingswood, and north-east perhaps as far as Lacock.[44]

Even more curious is the dearth of evidence suggesting that the seventeenth-century disruptions of the cloth industry caused chronic distress in those areas from which the bulk of Wiltshire's rural emigrants departed between 1635 and 1660. With regard to the 1630's emigration to New England, this is easily explained. Simply put, the overwhelming majority[45] of the rural emigrants who left then originated from the Vale of Wardour and the extreme southeastern corner of Wiltshire-- two regions completely divorced from actual cloth production.[46] To argue, then, that the decline of the cloth industry was a primary and direct inspiration for the emigration of 46 people

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[44]Mann, The Cloth Industry in the West of England, p. xvii; Ramsay, The Wilts. Woollen Industry, pp. 103-4. Lacock is mentioned as a possibility because of the increasing evidence, in wills and inventories, of dyeing-- an important process in medley production not generally associated with the manufacture of broadcloths --taking place there.

[45]Only Thomas Browne, weaver, and Hercules Woodman, mercer of Christian Malford, lived within the county's major textile region.

[46]Ramsay has suggested that some scattered kersey production took place in the southeastern section of the county. My investigation of that district's early seventeenth-century wills and inventories, however, has turned up absolutely no evidence that textile production was even a minor occupation there.

from these two areas is questionable at best.[47]

The relevance of the disruptions of the Wiltshire textile industry as an important motivating factor behind the movement of many rural emigrants during the 1650's cannot be dismissed so easily. Figure 20 shows that slightly more than half (44 out of 86) of the rural emigrants who departed during the 1650's came from the county's textile-producing region. One must be careful, however, to identify those districts, within the broader textile region, which were most seriously affected by depressions in the industry. It has already been shown that the central broadcloth district of Bromham, Rowde, and Melksham evidenced the most hardship during the 1640's and 1650's. Yet, emigration from this area to the colonies was negligible. On the other hand, those parishes within the clothing region which sent most of the emigrants-- Box, Corsham, Lacock, and Kingswood --exhibited little or no sign of distress. An explanation may lie in the economic structure of these various communities, in particular, the proportion of workers engaged in actual cloth-making activities.

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[47]I am assuming that linkages between the state of the cloth industry and other agricultural pursuits (for example, grain production, dairying, rearing), which would have affected the livelihood of small farmers of the Vale and southeast Wiltshire, were weak. That is, the demand for certain food products-- particularly grains --was inelastic, so that a decline in textile workers income would not seriously affect demand for food. For annual and decennial averages of agricultural prices, see Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History, pp. 815-70.

Table 13 is very revealing in this respect.[48] The percentage of workers directly engaged in textile production at Box, Corsham, and Lacock was probably far less than that at Bromham, for

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[48]Lacking any comprehensive lists of inhabitants and their occupations, I chose to use the next best available sources for this type of analysis: (a) ecclesiastical court deposition records, which always give deponents' occupations; (b) indexes of wills and inventories kept at the WRO (in particular, those of the Consistory Court of Sarum, the Archdeaconry of Wiltshire, and the Peculiar Court of the Perpetual Vicar of Corsham) and at the PRO (for the years 1640-1660). The deposition records have been proven to yield a fairly representative sample of rural society, if the sample is large enough. Mine probably is not, since I restricted myself to a relatively short time period-- 1615-1640. In order to supplement the sample, I turned to the probate indexes, which themselves have some drawbacks-- e.g. the poorest segment of the population never left wills or inventories. Yet, the Tawneys' occupational analysis of nearby Gloucestershire hundreds-- based on more reliable and more comprehensive sources, the muster returns of 1608 --seems to confirm my findings to a degree. For example, Pucklechurch hundred in Gloucestershire, a lower Cotswold district very close to both Box and Corsham, exhibited a remarkably similar economic structure: 50.4% of the adult male population was engaged in agriculture; only 10% was engaged in textiles. See Tawneys, "An Occupational Census," 64.

Another possible defect in the analysis should be mentioned. The terms "yeoman" and "husbandman" suggest a major preoccupation with agriculture, but may disguise minor cloth-producing activity. That is, men who owned or leased small patches of land and who called themselves yeomen and husbandmen may have woven or spun cloth as a bye-employment. There is really no way of determining how many people fell into this category. My own analysis of yeomen wills and inventories turned up little evidence of such activity, but this is far from conclusive. All one can do is state the problem and assume that those who were <u>primarily</u> farmers would have suffered less from depressions in the textile industry than those who were not.

TABLE 13

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF PARISHES WITHIN
THE WILTSHIRE TEXTILE REGION, 1610-80

Place	Dates	Nature of Evidence	Distribution of Work Force-- Per Cent									
			Gentry & Professional	Agriculture	Textiles	Clothing	Leather & Allied	Metal-working	Building & Allied	Food & Drink	Distribution & Transport	Misc.
Box	1615-1680	Depositions to 1640; wills & inventories (index), 1640-1680	--	54.8	9.6	9.6	3.4	3.4	9.6	9.6	--	--
Corsham	"	"	7.2	52.7	12.7	3.6	3.6	1.9	10.9	5.4	--	1.9
Lacock	"	"	7	26.5	28.9	.10	6.6	--	6.5	7.6	--	7.6
Bromham	1610-1642	Wills & Inventories (index), 1610-42	3.2	28	40.6	15.6	--	3.2	6.2	--	--	3.2

instance.[49] Textile production was not as widespread, and disruptions in the industry were far less likely to cause widespread distress. To assume, then, that simply because their homes lay within the general cloth-producing region, the 21 young men and women who left Box, Corsham, Kingswood, and Lacock emigrated as a direct result of hard times in the textile industry is questionable.

The evidence from Gloucestershire points to a similar conclusion. The 1608 muster returns suggest that the percentage of workers engaged in the cloth industry was greatest in Longtree (45.2%), Bisley (39.4%), Berkeley (37.9%), Whitstone (31.6%), and Gromboldash (28%) hundreds.[50] Yet, these districts sent only 17 emigrants, a mere 15% of all rural emigrants, to the colonies, via Bristol, during the 1650's. On the other hand, most of Gloucestershire's rural emigrants originated from areas in which the textile industry had never taken root. As was true of emigration from towns, one must thus consider other factors which may have had more of a direct bearing on the decision to leave familiar rural settings in order to colonize the New World.

In Section I of this dissertation, I demonstrated that a

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[49]Although no analysis of the occupational structure of Rowde and Kingswood was attempted, indirect evidence suggests that textile production was a major source of employment at both parishes during the seventeenth century. In 1597, it was said that 100 out of 170 householders in Kingswood were forced to spin and weave for clothiers. See Great Britain, Public Record Office, Privy Council, Acts of The Privy Council of England (hereafter cited as A. P. C.), vol. xxvii, p. 221. A late seventeenth-century occupational listing (which appeared in the parish register) of Rowde suggests that less than half the male work force was engaged in agriculture, while a considerable number were employed in cloth production. See VCH, Wilts., VII, p. 218.

[50]Tawneys, "An Occupational Census," 63-4.

number of adult male emigrants, particularly in the 1630's, were small or middling farmers. Of the many factors which may have pressed hard enough on such individuals to lead to emigration, the problem of security of land tenures and the closely related question of rents were of critical importance. So crucial were they in fact, that Mildred Campbell-- perhaps wrongly assuming that many of the 1650's emigrants were "yeomen" --has suggested that a general insecurity of land tenures along with rising rents in the West Country were major factors inducing rural emigration to the New World.[51]

The subject of tenurial security was first brought to light and popularized by R. H. Tawney. In general, Tawney stressed the tenant's lack of security: most customary tenants (copyholders for life, lives, or years), tenants-at-will, and short-term leaseholders were at the mercy of the lord of the manor. Faced with diminishing real returns on rent, lords chose to (a) evict their customary tenants and enclose arable fields to turn them into profitable sheep runs, and (b) push up tenant's entry fines or rackrent.[52] Since Tawney's time, Kerridge and others, using newly-accessible manorial data from Wiltshire and other localities, have altered these

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[51]On the troublesome question of the accuracy of the label 'yeoman' attached to emigrant servants of the 1650's, see Section I, B, pp. 48-53. For Campbell's treatment of tenures and rents, see Campbell, "Social Origins," p. 82-3. The author states that ninety-nine year leases, made out in Elizabeth's reign, were in the 1650's, 1660's, and 1670's " 'falling in', leaving the tenant to face increased fines and rents or the likelihood of seeing his lands go to someone else." Unfortunately, Campbell provides no supporting data.

[52]R. H. Tawney, The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century, Harper Torchbooks (1912; reprint, New York, 1967).

conclusions and toned down Tawney's angry denunciation of landlords. It is now known that the putatively vicious, depopulating enclosures about which Tawney wrote were non-existent in most parts of lowland England, including Wiltshire, by the early seventeenth century. In fact, enclosure in Wiltshire during most of that century was a piecemeal process, achieved peacefully by agreement between lord and tenants, or among tenants, and not by forceful eviction.[53]

The question of whether or not tenancies of the farmer-emigrants were, in practice, insecure because they were susceptible to arbitrary, and often exorbitant, rent increases proves much more difficult to answer. Certainly, most of the prevailing land tenures in seventeenth-century Wiltshire were technically susceptible to increased rents. Dr. Kerridge has shown that the most common tenure in Chalk and Cotswold Wiltshire was lifehold by copy, which carried a fixed or relatively stable (and low) yearly rent combined with an arbitrary (raised at the will of the lord) entry fine.[54] In addition, rents for leaseholds-- a tenure becoming more and more common in parts of Cheese Wiltshire --could be raised at regular intervals of

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[53]The question of early seventeenth-century enclosures in Wiltshire will be dealt with more fully below. But, see Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 151-72, 584-6; Joan Thirsk, "Enclosing and Engrossing," in Thirsk, ed., Agrarian History, pp. 200-55.

[54]Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 334, 466. If, for example, fictional landholder John Finch holds, by copy, land for his life and the lives of his two sons (a total of 3 lives), he may pay only a nominal yearly rent of, perhaps, 16 s. But, after 21 years (the equivalent of 3 lives) from the date of his copy, Finch had to pay an entry fine, the amount of which was set by the lord of the manor. If Finch died in the interim, an entry fine would be due from his sons or, since copyhold was by no means heritable, from whomever succeeded to the estate. The only type of customary holding that was not always subject to periodic entry fines was copyhold of inheritance, a rare tenure which survived in only one manor in

twenty-one years, or even less.[55]

There is little doubt that rents were in fact rising on these lands throughout the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. An analysis of rents on both the Herbert and Seymour manors in Chalk Wiltshire reveals that rents increased four-fold on the former and nine-fold on the latter. Rent increments were particularly high on the Seymour estates, where total rent receipts multiplied from £475 12s. 5½d. in 1575-6, to £1,429 11s. in 1639-40, and to £3,203 19s. 4d. in 1649-50, the bulk of the increase coming in the four decades before the Civil War. Since only a small portion of these totals can be attributed to rents on new lettings, most of the increased rents were collected from sitting tenants, evidently in the form of huge entry fines.[56] Because of the continuing dismemberment of manors in Cheese Wiltshire, consecutive manorial rent data is almost non-existent. But, what little evidence that is available suggests that rents rose just as swiftly there as well.[57]

Wiltshire, Corsham. On the extremely complex subject of land tenures, see E. Kerridge, Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After (New York, 1969), pp. 32-64.

[55]Mildred Campbell is probably mistaken in assuming that ninety-nine year leases, made out in Elizabeth's reign, "fell in" for the first time during the mid-and later seventeenth century. Most leases by indenture in the west of England were for 99 yers, but were also determinable on three lives. This meant that leases had to be renewed at intervals of between every 7 and 21 years. See Kerridge, Agrarian Problems, p. 47.

[56]Kerridge, "The Movement of Rent, 1540-1640," Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser., VI (1953-4), 16-34. Kerridge has shown that rents for new takings on the Seymour estates only doubled during the period. See below, p. 185

[57]Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 487-8. I was able to locate three consecutive rent rolls for one 'Cheese' manor, the Hungerford family's Manor of Chippenham, Sheldon and Lowdon, 1609,

In short, tenants over much of Wiltshire were faced with increased rents during the first half of the seventeenth century. Does this mean, then, that the several emigrant-landholders who left the county for the colonies during the period were finding it impossible to meet their rental obligations? To answer the question satisfactorily, we need to know whether the husbandmen and yeomen who emigrated were freeholders, leaseholders, copyholders, tenants-at-will, or even sub-tenants.[58] We also need to know if and when their leases or copies were falling due, if they were expected to pay an exorbitant rent increase, whether they had the resources to pay the increase, or what rate of payment was expected of them.[59] Moreover, we need to know something about the size of their landholdings, since larger landholders would presumable have been better placed to pay a large rise in rent. Unfortunately, this type of information

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1633-4, and 1649. They suggest that customary rents rose hardly at all between 1609 and 1649, but the record lacks a crucial element which went into the making of total rent-- entry fines. Without these, there is no way of knowing how much (if at all) rents of sitting tenants rose during the period. See WRO 442/2, Courts of Survey, Hungerford Estates (1609); WRO 490/1530-1. Rentals, 1633, 1634, 1649.

[58]"Tenancies at will" were very frequent in the early modern period, for cottages built on the waste and similar encroachments. Of the very numerous sub-tenants or under-tenants-- those who sub-letted lands from leaseholders and copyholders --manorial surveys disclose little or nothing. Since sub-letting was such a common practice, it is entirely possible that many of the rural emigrants were sub-tenants making it almost impossible to trace their landholdings or rent charges. See Kerridge, Agrarian Problems, pp. 48-52.

[59]For instance, some beneficient landlords, such as the Thynnes of Longleat, seem to have allowed fine payments by easier terms than most landlords: e. g. a £40 fine payment could be paid in half-yearly installments of £5. Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," p. 471.

regarding individual emigrants' landholdings, tenures, and forms of rent payment is very scarce, making it extremely difficult to determine the importance of rising rents and insecurity of land tenures as factors inducing emigration.

What little data concerning landholdings is available, however, suggests that many of them were not very well placed to face the high rent increases taking place throughout parts of the county. For instance, we know that a few of the emigrant-farmers who left for New England during the 1630's held relatively small amounts of land.[60] It has recently been shown that the profit margin on such small farms was meager.[61] Indeed, the prices received for the chief cash crops and agricultural goods of the county-- wheat, barley, and wool in Chalk Wiltshire, dairy products in the pastoral regions -- in no way kept pace with the rent increases already mentioned. Table 14 indicates, in fact, that the price increments-- all around two-fold --were nowhere near the four-fold and nine-fold rent increments on the Herbert and Seymour estates. Faced with this situation, many

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[60] Richard Macy held by copy with his brother only about 20 acres; Nathaniel Wyer held by copy with his two brothers only about 5½ acres. See Section I, A, p. 25, note 33. According to Kerridge, the typical "family" farm amounted to about 30 acres in the early seventeenth century. Those who held less than 20 acres usually required some form of bye-employment to subsist. Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 443-6.

[61] P. Bowden, "Agricultural Prices, Farm Profits, and Rents," in Thirsk, ed., Agrarian History, pp. 651-663.

copyholders and leaseholders were forced to relinquish their holdings. They then had to take up land on poorer soils as tenants-at-will[62] and, in order to supplement their incomes, either engage in some bye-employment, perhaps in the textile industry, or become day-laborers. Confronted with such unattractive choices, many undoubtedly opted for emigration.

TABLE 14

DECENNIAL MOVEMENTS OF PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, 1570-1649[a]

Decade	Wheat	Barley	Wool	Dairy Products (cheese, butter, milk, cream)
1570-9 (base years)	100	100	100	100
1580-9	115	134	96	117
1590-9	149	167	135	140
1600-9	143	162	149	145
1610-9	167	185	151	165
1620-9	168	180	151	159
1630-9	199	243	174	174
1640-9	213	221	170	197

[a]Index prices of agricultural goods can be found in Thirsk, ed., Agrarian History, pp. 857, 861. I converted the index prices listed there, which were based on the years 1450-99 = 100, to index prices based on the years 1570-9 = 100, since the latter was the base period used by Kerridge in his estimate of rent increases. Admittedly, these are national averages and may not give a true indication of price movements in Wiltshire.

[62]This particular process was probably responsible for the gradual disappearance of "family" farms in Chalk Wiltshire during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Kerridge has noted

In stating the latter alternative, one must be careful not to overstate the relevance of rising rents and insecure land tenures as motivational factors. That is, only a small percentage of Wiltshire's rural emigrants were sitting tenants who, faced with rising rents, would have had to adopt one of the alternatives just mentioned. In fact, some of Wiltshire's rural emigrants-- particularly those of the 1650's --were too young to be holding land, or to deserve the label "yeoman" so many of them were given on the passenger lists.[63] Younger, landless men and women may also have been adversely affected by the general rise of rents, but in a different way which shall be analyzed later in this chapter.

All of the rural emigrants-- male and female, young and old, craftsmen, laborers, and farmers[64]--surely were subjected, at one time during their years in England, to the twin evils of dearth and disease. Pastoral regions, with their relatively dense populations and dependence on outside sources for grains, were particularly

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a great increase in the number of "dwarf" (1 to 20-acre), "landless" (under 1-acre), and large (over 62-acre) holdings on the Chalk, all at the expense of "middling" (20 to 62-acre) holdings which declined by 10%. Inability to meet rent increases evidently was responsible for much of this. Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 408-10.

[63]In this respect, Mildred Campbell may have overstated her case in regard to the importance of insecure land tenures as a motivational factor during the 1650's.

[64]Bowden has shown how successive harvest failures could have potentially crippled small cereal farmers with little profit margins. Moreover, he has delineated the inter-relationship between dearth and depression in the cloth industry. Bowden, "Agricultural Prices," pp. 625-9.

vulnerable.[65] Many rural regions of England suffered periodic grain failures and visitations of crippling diseases throughout the first six decades of the seventeenth century. Is it safe, then, to conclude that the timing of emigration to the colonies was directly related to the incidence of disease and fluctuations of grain prices? To answer the question, it is necessary to determine, as in the analysis of urban emigration,[66] if rural regions of Wiltshire-- particularly those most affected by emigration -- suffered greatly from disease or famine; and, more importantly, if the timing of emigration to America from Wiltshire coincided with periodic crises provoked by harvest failure or sickness.

As we have seen in dealing with emigration from urban communities, such an analysis is rendered particularly difficult by the lack of local grain price series. The drawbacks of using the various "national" grain price indices and information dealing with harvest qualities compiled by Hoskins and others have already been mentioned. Once again, one must rely on eyewitness accounts of local officials who nearly always cited instances of extreme suffering caused by dearth.[67]

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[65]Some rural villages in pasture-farming regions were as densely populated as several Wiltshire towns, and, as will be demonstrated shortly, were as vulnerable to crippling diseases. As the area of tillage contracted in many pasture-farming regions, the greater was the dependence of these places on badgers and carriers for their supply of grains. For example, Richard Smythe of Stourton (in the Wiltshire butter country) petitioned the J.P.'s in 1632 for a license as a badger, since his village "was a place barren for corne." Throughout the 1630's, 1640's, and 1650's, many areas of Cheese Wiltshire petitioned for badgers to buy grain. See WRO, Great Rolls, Easter 1632; WRO, Quarter Sessions, Petitions, 1630-1660, passim.

[66]See Section II, B, pp. 82-95.

Upon pursuing this course, one is astonished by the lack of complaints about food prices in Wiltshire during the 1630's--always considered a bleak decade marked by successive harvest failures.[68] The anti-enclosure riots of 1630-1 in certain parts of the county were probably provoked by dearth;[69] a few distress signals were sent to the J.P.'s from parts of Cheese Wiltshire in late 1633.[70] Curiously though, nothing was reported between 1635 and 1638, the period of heaviest emigration to New England from the county. In fact, towards the end of the decade, when many other regions of England experienced acute suffering induced by grain shortages, Wiltshire seems to have been blessed with a relative abundance of corn.[71]

Indeed, throughout the entire three decades, 1630-1660, there was only one identifiable period of real distress resulting from grain shortage in Wiltshire: the last three years of the 1640's. Complaints of dearth were continuous throughout these years. Because they feared that many poor people would perish

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[67]See above, p. 84, note 55.

[68]Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations," 20.

[69]It is interesting that riots resulting from dearth were often manifested as enclosure riots in many sections of England during the early seventeenth century. This was probably a result of the powerful popular perception equating enclosure and dearth. See Walter and Wrighton, "Dearth and the Social Order," 30.

[70]WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Hilary 1634.

[71]CSPD, vol. 12 (1637-8), pp. 156, 303, 320; PRO, P.C. 2/48/506(254r).

from the "scarcity of corn and grayn not only in this kingdome in gen'all but alsoe in this county," the Wiltshire justices ordered all malting of barley suppressed.[72] The crisis had subsided by 1650, however, and no further cries of distress were heard during the remainder of the decade. Perhaps the northwest of Wiltshire, that part of the county most affected by rural emigration during the 1650's, was diversified enough agriculturally to withstand the periodically poor harvests of the decade.[73] Whatever the reason, one must assume that, as was true of emigration from Wiltshire towns, there was no significant correlation between short-term crises caused by grain shortages and periods of movement to the American colonies.

Nor does there appear to have been any significant correlation between the incidence of disease and emigration. The period 1630 to 1660 was marked by periodic mortality crises all over England. Some historians believe that in these years disease took an uncommonly heavy toll of lives. The heightened mortality of the period is usually ascribed to visitations of pneumonia, typhus, dysentery, smallpox, or plague. The latter has recently been determined to be primarily an urban disease; but, as will be

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[72]Cunnington, ed., Records of the County of Wilts., pp. 180-3; WRO, Quarter Sessions, Order Bk. No. 1 (1642-54), Trinity, 1647; CSPD, vol. 1 (1649-50), pp. 35, 143, 316, 402.

[73]It has often been acknowledged that the more diversified the agricultural base of a community, the less likely it was to be crippled in years of harvest failure. The northwest of Wiltshire, with its areas of mixed husbandry (Cotswold and Corallian Ridge), vast expanses of meadow and pasture, and still substantial wooded districts was by all means agriculturally diversified.

demonstrated, it could, and did, strike rural areas as well.[74]

Most of Wiltshire escaped crippling sicknesses in the 1630's until 1638, when misery and death from disease became a constant complaint. John Aubrey said that the autumn of that year was "sickly and feverish," a comment repeated by other contemporary observers, and reflected in the recorded burials of several rural parishes.[75] Most interestingly, deaths reached crisis proportions[76] in some parishes of southeastern Wiltshire. As Figure 21 indicates, both Downton[77] and Whiteparish experienced heightened mortalities in that year. The seasonal pattern of burials--heavily concentrated in the late summer and early autumn, with few in the month of December --along with a noticeable drop in conceptions, suggests that the culprit disease was most probably

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[74]Appleby, "Disease or Famine?", 406. Appleby, wishing to make a case for death from starvation in certain rural regions of pre-industrial England, virtually dismisses the possibility of plague causing rural mortality crises.

[75]Britton, ed., The Natural History of Wilts. by John Aubrey, p. 75; PRO, P.C. 2/48/23(10); Cunnington, ed., Records of the County of Wilts., pp. 123-4.

[76]"Mortality crisis" is here defined as twice the normal number of burials. "Normal" is defined as an average of burials computed for a number of non-crisis base years. In 1638, Downton burials reached 85; between 1628 and 1637, they had averaged only 16 p.a.

[77]The parish of Downton is very large, and includes a borough. This makes it particularly difficult to differentiate between rural and urban burials in the parish. There is, however, some indication that the borough was very small, and that the most densely populated parts of the parish were its rural tithings. See Appendix E, note b.

FIGURE 21.-- RECORDED BURIALS, DOWNTON AND WHITEPARISH, 1636-40

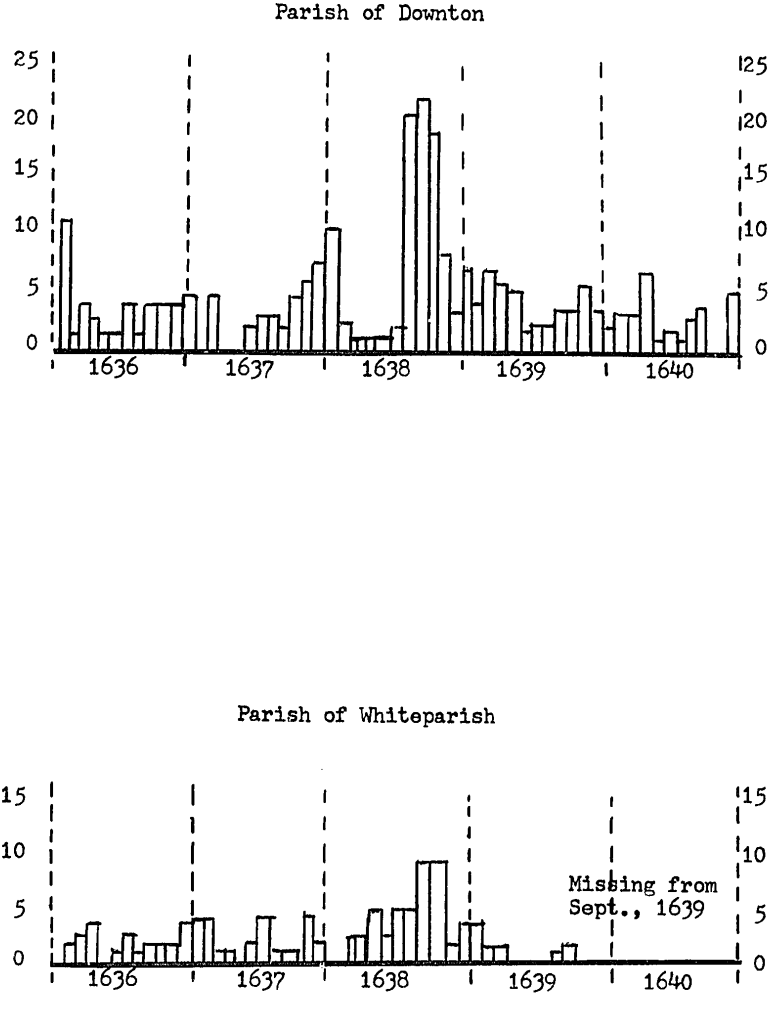


FIGURE 22.-- RECORDED BURIALS, TISBURY, 1636-40

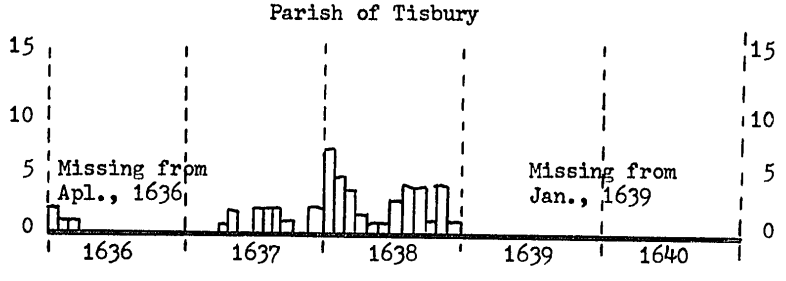
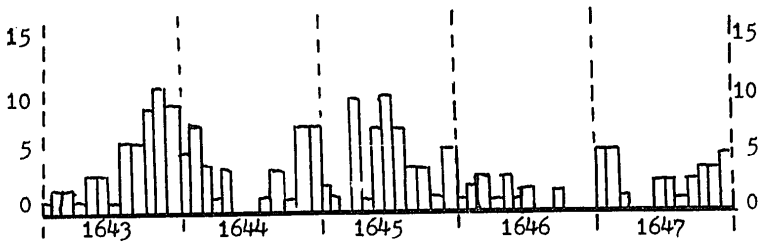


FIGURE 23.-- RECORDED BURIALS, LACOCK AND BOX, 1643-47

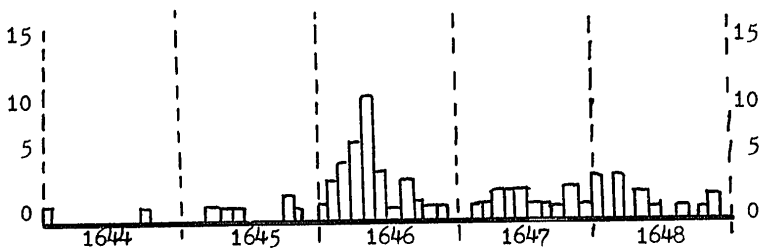
Parish of Lacock



Burials by Status, Lacock

	1643	1644	1645	1646	1647
Children	15	15	6	5	5
Adult Males	16	13	17	3	11
Adult Females	18	8	19	7	10
Soldiers			3		

Parish of Box



Burials by Status, Box

	1644	1645	1646	1647	1648
Children		3	17	4	3
Adult Males	1	3	8	5	8
Adult Females		1	14	5	2
Soldiers					

plague.[78] The same malady seems to have afflicted various parishes in the Vale of Wardour during the same year. In late 1638, the inhabitants of Donhead St. Mary, having "been visited and infected with the contagious disease of the plague...by the space of tenn weekes last past," petitioned the county's justices for relief.[79] Though the available Donhead St. Mary's parish registers do not permit a thorough analysis of mortalities, those of neighboring Tisbury do. There was a definite mortality crisis in 1638 at the latter parish; and though the seasonal pattern of mortalities is not distinct, the drop in conceptions seems to indicate plague.[80]

Is it possible to conclude, then, that mortality crises induced by plague were responsible for the marked emigration from both the southeastern and southwestern parishes to New England?

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[78]Appleby, "Disease or Famine?," 406. "Conceptions", calculated by subtracting 9 months from the date of baptism, were as follows:

	Downton	Whiteparish
1638	26	15
Average, 1628-37	46	28

The probability of the disease having been plague in both parishes is increased by the care in which the registrars marked most burials with "x's". The minister of St. Edmund's, Salisbury, employed this marking in 1627 when distinguishing plague deaths from non-plague deaths.

[79]The petition from Donhead St. Mary bears no date; however, since the document mentions plague at Calne-- which we know to have occurred in late 1637 and early 1638 --one can safely assume that the correct date falls in late 1638.

[80]Mortalities at Tisbury totalled 34 in 1638; between 1628 and 1637, they had averaged around 15 p.a. The only other disease suggested is typhus, which would account for the large number of burials in winter months (except December), and the inordinate number of adults buried (six times the number of children). However, the presence of plague at nearby Donhead St. Mary suggests that the killer affliction was indeed plague.

Unfortunately, the Landford, Plaitford, Donhead St. Andrew, Semley, and Sutton Mandeville early seventeenth-century parish registers do not survive, making it impossible to determine if plague visited those areas as well. Even if one could demonstrate that disease-induced mortality crises directly preceded emigration in 1638 from these parishes,[81] one would be hard pressed to prove that short-term crises could lead people to pick up roots and move thousands of miles. Only in the instance that it caused losses within the emigrant's family, or if it reoccurred in villages over several consecutive years, could disease be deemed a significant motivational factor. Moreover, it has already been noted that individuals who suffered from visitations of disease were more likely to move short distances.[82] Flight from disease-afflicted rural villages to uncontaminated rural areas or towns may have been just as common.[83] Certainly, there were more feasible alternatives than emigration to New England.

In the mid-1640's, several rural villages were also visited by disease. Box, Fisherton Anger, Horningsham, Lacock, and Maiden Bradley-- all villages marked, in varying degrees, by emigration

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[81]There is no assurance that one could prove this. The decision to emigrate presumably was made some time before April 1638, when most of the emigrants from these parishes boarded at Southampton. Since plague is a warm-weather disease, it did not actually begin to take a toll in lives until late summer. The question remains whether the emigrants anticipated the visitation. The question is impossible to answer. It does, however, seem very unlikely.

[82]See above, pp. 94-5.

[83]Paul Slack has noted a marked increase in short-distance vagrancy during plague years. See Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy," 374.

during the next decade --were subjected, between 1645 and 1647, to a variety of deadly afflictions.[84] The pattern and age distribution of burials, as depicted in Figure 23, suggests that pneumonia, dysentery, or perhaps smallpox were responsible for most deaths.[85]

Whatever the cause, these periodic mortality crises seem to have subsided by the 1650's. Neither the local records nor the parish registers indicate that disease ravaged rural villages either preceding or during the period of heaviest emigration to the colonies. The absence of any such correlation between the incidence of sickness and the timing of emigration must throw doubt on any significance attached to this as a factor in the decision to emigrate.

A potentially more serious motivational factor was a loss of common rights and general unrest resulting from enclosure, emparkment, deparkment, or disforestation. Traditionally, a great deal has been made of these as direct causes of seventeenth-century emigration to America, particularly as root elements of

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[84]WRO, Quarter Sessions, Order Bk. No. 1 (1642-54), Michaelmas 1646, Hilary 1647, Trinity 1649.

[85]The unusually high number of burials during the winter months, 1643-4, at Lacock suggests a pulmonary disease such as pneumonia. Typhus, another cold-weather disease, is a possibility, but it rarely kills children. Dysentery, a warm-weather disease particularly fatal to children, was probably what the vicar of Box had in mind when he attached the words "of the sicknesse" to each burial during the months of April, May, and June, 1646. The unusually low number of children buried at Lacock in 1645 discounts the latter illness. Smallpox is a possibility, but it was such a physically ugly affliction that one would have expected some comment in the parish register.

the movement during the 1630's.[86] There is no doubt that a great deal of enclosing had taken place in many parts of Wiltshire during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. We have already seen that by around 1650, over three quarters of all land in Wiltshire pasture-farming regions was enclosed or otherwise in severalty, and that nearly half of all lands in the westerly parts of the Vale of Wardour had been enclosed. Enclosures were not generally prevalent in Chalk and Cotswold Wiltshire before the third decade of the seventeenth century; but, thereafter piecemeal enclosures were taking place and gradually beginning to change the face of the countryside.[87] However, in order to resolve whether these enclosures provided an important backdrop to emigration from the county, one must first determine exactly when enclosure took place, and, more importantly, whether enclosure entailed the loss of common rights which, in turn, led to marked unrest and discontent.

Of the many types of enclosure,[88] the most common in Wiltshire was enclosure by express consent or agreement. In short, these agreements usually allowed an individual to enclose if he, in turn,

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[86]See, for example, Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled, pp. 22, 98, 203, 206.

[87]See above, pp. 130-6. Enclosures in Cotswold Wiltshire during the period sometimes involved a conversion of arable to grass, as pasture-farming became more profitable on its heavier soils. An early seventeenth-century survey of Brokenborough demonstrates this process. See WRO 88/2/47. Berkshire and Suffolk Ms., Charlton Estate Papers. Enclosures on the Chalk were very piecemeal, and generally carried out by large capitalist farmers. Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 149-60.

[88]The various forms of enclosure are discussed in Joan Thirsk, "Enclosing and Engrossing," in Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History, pp. 94-111.

relinquished some common rights or agreed to allow his neighbors some minor common rights on his newly-enclosed land. Such enclosure sometimes gave rise to disputes that might have led to rioting;[89] but, for the most part, they were carried out without apparent incident.[90]

This is not to suggest, however, that different types of enclosure in early Stuart Wiltshire never resulted in a total loss of common rights of true hardship for commoners. Kerridge has documented sporadic agrarian discontent and violence which was directed, by and large, against the arbitrary disforestments and enclosures made during the reigns of James I and Charles I.[91] The royal forest of Melksham (alias Blackmore) and the adjacent forest of Pewsham (alias Chippenham, see following figure) were enclosed in 1612 and 1623 respectively. In both instances, the commoners of the forests seem to have suffered hardship, and serious riots broke out in the area during the years, 1630-1, undoubtedly triggered by the grain

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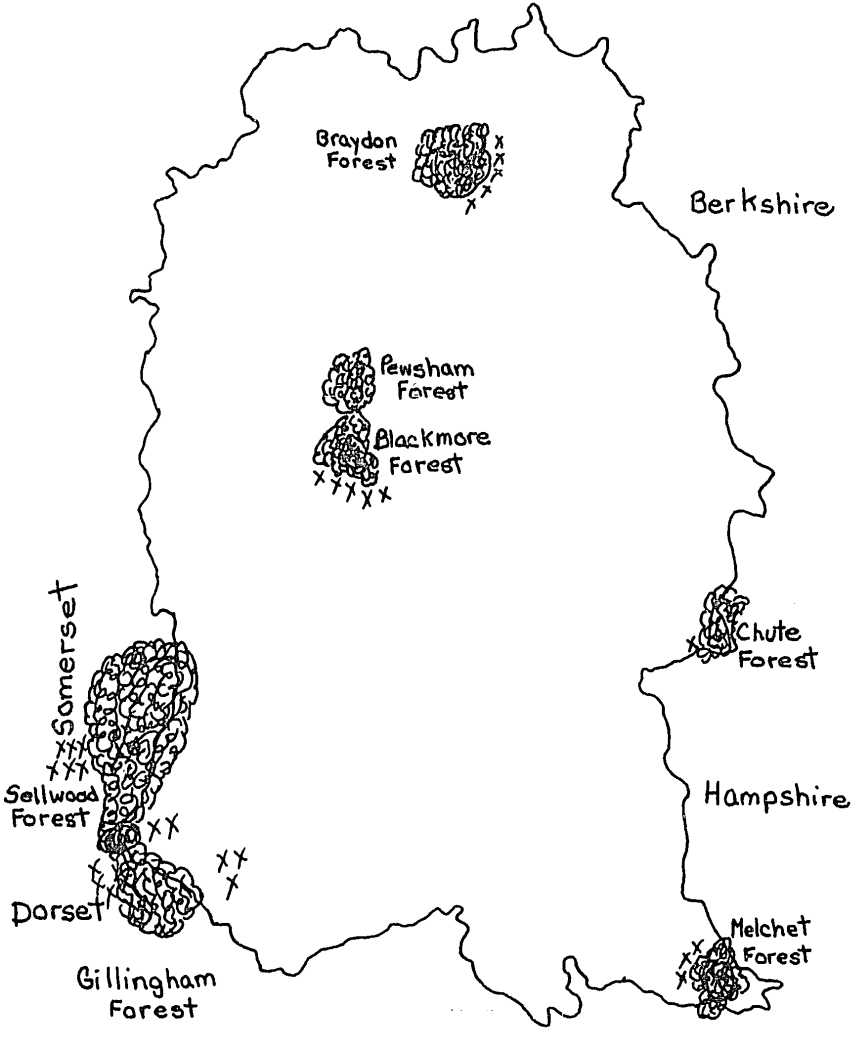
[89] Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," pp. 582-6.

[90] Chancery enrollments, which record many of these enclosures by agreement, are often misleading with respect to disputes arising from this type of enclosing activity. In order for an enclosure agreement to be recorded in Chancery-- and thus be given a much sought after legal sanction --it was necessary to fabricate some pretence of a disagreement. This type of fictitious action makes it very difficult to decide whether real hardship was brought about by enclosure. It should also be added that because the Chancery Rolls for the period 1603-49 are inadequately indexed (they are indexed by surname of plaintiff only), it is nearly impossible to systematically analyze the extent and timing of enclosure in individual localities. See Maurice Beresford, "Habitation versus Improvement: The Debate on Enclosure by Agreement," in Fisher, ed., Essays in Econ. and Social History, pp. 57-61.

[91] E. Kerridge, "The Revolts in Wiltshire Against Charles I," W. A. M., (1956), 64-75.

FIGURE 24.--SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY WILTSHIRE FORESTS



X = Scenes of violent protest over enclosure and disforestment, 1610-65

shortages of those years.[92] Similar rioting followed the enclosures of Selwood-Gillingham Forest and Braydon Forest ca. 1630.[93] Sporadic violence continued throughout the following decades in both regions, particularly in the Selwood-Gillingham area, which eventually became a center of intense "clubmen" activity during the Civil War.[94]

Curiously though, the deprived commoners of these areas apparently did not emigrate en masse to the New World.[95] Only the 23 emigrants from the southeastern region of the county originated in an area which had a background of violence resulting from disforestment and enclosure. In 1577, Richard Audley, chief Ranger of The Royal Forest of Melchet, received permission to enclose the forest. Locals protested the action, which deprived them of common grazing ground for cattle, and petitioned Lord Burghley for redress. Nothing more was heard from the area until a few decades later when, at the instigation of Anne, Countess of Dorset (who, as owner of Plaitford Manor stood to lose rights of common pasture), inhabitants tore down the rails which surrounded the new enclosure.[96]

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[92] Ibid., 66; see also PRO, P.C. 2/41/27-9. See above, p. 168, note 69.

[93] PRO, P.C. 2/40/545-6, P.C. 2/41/27-9; PRO, S.P. 16/203/96, 106, S.P. 16/193/11; British Museum, Additional Charters 40, 105.

[94] PRO, S.P. 18/97/36; WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Trinity 1651, Indictments; PRO, Exchequer K.R., Depositions by Commissions (hereafter cited as E 134), 13-14 Chas. 2/Hilary 13, interrogatories; David Underdown, Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 98-99.

[95] See Figure 13.

[96] British Museum, Lansdowne. Mss. 24/33/74; PRO, E 134/17 Jas. I/Easter 21, depositions of Ellys Thayne and Henry Kimbere.

Though it remains a possibility, it may be too rash to assume that the loss of common grazing rights in Melchet Forest provided the primary inspiration for the New England-bound emigration of some of the area's inhabitants. There is no clue as to how the dispute was finally settled; it may be that by the 1630's it had died out. We know that about 1610, much of the forest was cleared and turned to arable and pasture,[97] which may have provided a positive inducement for people to stay (and, perhaps, for people to immigrate) rather than leave. If the population trends at Whiteparish are indicative, population did, in fact, continue to grow by leaps and bounds during the last decades of the sixteenth and early decades of the seventeenth centuries.[98]

Indeed, it is noteworthy that in those areas of Wiltshire which became heavily enclosed during the early modern period, the agricultural population increased rather than decreased. Considerable enclosure in the county's pasture-farming regions-- from where, it should be remembered, most of the rural emigrants originated --was accompanied by a proliferation of family farms during the period.[99]

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[97] Ibid., deposition of Henry Kimbere.

[98] See Figure 17, above, and Appendix E. Ccnsidering the general land hunger of the period, it is entirely possible that the clearance of woodland for additional pasture and arable not only kept sitting tenants in the area, but induced immigration.

[99] See above, pp. 136, 138-45. A similar correlation between population increase and heavy enclosures can be found for other pastoral regions of England such as the Norfolk Heathlands, the Fen Country, and the Lancashire Plain. See Kerridge, Agrarian Problems, p. 119.

Nowhere in Wiltshire was enclosure the fundamental cause of depopulation.[100] Nor was it the likeliest cause of seventeenth-century rural emigration to the American colonies.

An important clue to the essential factors behind the rural emigration of the period lies in the characteristics of the emigrants analyzed in Section One. Those characteristics or traits which are probably most suggestive of motivation are-- as was true of urban emigration --ages and marital status. It has been demonstrated that most of the adult male emigrants were unmarried and under 30 years of age.[101] This suggests that many of the emigrants (and perhaps other young Wiltshire men and women) may have been faced with uncertain futures, which normally would have seen them established in their own households and on their own land, practicing a trade (farming or otherwise), and married. Certain factors, some of which have already been discussed, were working to preclude the fulfillment of these relatively normal expectations.

In the previous chapter, I suggested that many young Wiltshire townsmen were beginning to find it difficult to become apprenticed at

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[100]Only in the Chalk region were family farms being squeezed out of existence. This, however, was not directly because of enclosure and the extinguishing of common rights, but rather a result of the engrossing of farms and proliferation of large capital farms which required less labor per acre than family farms. See Kerridge, Agrarian Problems, pp. 128-9.

[101]See above, pp. 34-6. The median age of all single, adult (over 16), male emigrants from Wiltshire, for whom ages were given or could be determined, was 28. In reaching this median age, I purposely excluded all those who were not definitely unmarried at the at the time of their departure.

certain traditional centers.[102] To a lesser extent, the same may have been true of young men from the county's rural areas. Though apprenticeship recruitment from Wiltshire's rural areas to Bristol does not appear to have been slackening, the number of rural apprentices to two other traditional centers, Salisbury and Southampton, had been decreasing dramatically. As depicted in Table 15, the attraction of both Salisbury and Southampton declined between the early and middle decades of the seventeenth century, perhaps in proportion to their decline in importance as centers of industry and trade. Nothing is known, however, of apprenticeship opportunities in Wiltshire towns besides Salisbury. Nor is much known of apprenticeship opportunities in local villages. It is entirely possible that both local towns and villages were, and continued to be, more important centers of apprenticeship than any of the three large towns. Nonetheless, there is some evidence that even this very local apprenticeship system was breaking down somewhat during the 1640's and 1650's. The Wiltshire justices expressed alarm upon several occasions during these years at the growing number of masters who were either refusing to take apprentices bound to them, or were abandoning their apprentices in the midst of their training.[103]

A more serious obstacle facing young men from Wiltshire rural areas who wished to establish a permanent footing and embark on a career was the increasing difficulty in obtaining land. It has

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[102] See above, pp. 107-8.

[103] WRO, Quarter Sessions, Order Bk. No. 1 (1642-54), Hilary 1649; Order Bk. No. 2 (1654-68), Michaelmas 1659. See also PRO, Assi 24/21/12 v.

TABLE 15

RURAL WILTSHIRE EMIGRANTS IN BRISTOL, SALISBURY, SOUTHAMPTON, 1600-60 [a]

Rural Areas	Bristol, 1600-30	Bristol, 1631-58	Salisbury, 1602-30	Salisbury, 1631-60	Southampton 1609-40	Southampton 1641-60
Alderton	4	2				
Nettleton	4	2		1		
Box	3	4				
Corsham	7	4				
Lacock	6	13	1			
Westwood	1	2				
Ludgershall						
Burbage						
Sutton Veny			2			
Maiden Bradley	4	2	1			
Horningsham	2		1			
Fisherton Anger			1	1		1
Kingswood	5	4				
Semley						
Donheads			1			
Sutton Mandeville			2			
Tisbury		1	1			
Downton			1	1	1	
Whiteparish	1	2			1	
Landford						
Plaitford						
Totals	37	36	11	3	2	2
Total from all rural areas	205	232	158	91	13	8

[a]For the Bristol records, see BAO, Apprenticeship Enrolments, 1600-58. Those for Southampton can be found in A. J. Willis, comp., A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740, Southampton Record Society, No. 12 (Southampton, 1968). Those for Salisbury include only apprentices to Salisbury tailors: see SMA, I/245. Tailors Guild, Act and Memoranda Bk., 1444-19th century. The rural areas chosen in the analysis are those which were most heavily affected by emigration, 1635-1660.

TABLE 16

RENTS FOR NEW TAKINGS ON TWO CHALK ESTATES, 1570-1660[a]

Decade	pence/acre Herbert Estates	Index Herbert Estates	pence/acre Seymour Estates	Index Seymour Estates
1570-9	26.878	100	40.404	100
1580-9	21.290	76	40.037	99
1590-9	34.946	126	59.883	156
1600-9	45.387	154	64.836	160
1610-9	58.979	191	43.493	108
1620-9	48.849	161	56.862	137
1630-9	51.966	180	75.226	186
1640-9	42.467	149	-	-
1650-9	60.344	194	-	-

[a]The table is based mainly on statistics compiled in Kerridge, "The Movement of Rent," 24, 30; and Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," p. 497. Whereas Kerridge used the years 1510-9 as base years, I converted the statistics so that the years 1570-9 could be used as base years.

already been noted that largely because of population pressure and general land hunger, total rents over most of Wiltshire had been increasing rapidly between 1570 and 1660. As the table above indicates,

rents for new takings[104] on both the Herbert and Seymour estates in the county approximately doubled during the period. Again, though the evidence from pastoral areas is not as direct, it does suggest that rents on new takings rose as rapidly there-- and perhaps even more --as on the Chalk estates.[105] Under these circumstances, it is little wonder that the local records of the period were filled with reports of the erection of illegal cottages on waste and commons, and complaints such as that of the young North Bradley tailor in 1635, that prohibitive rents were making it difficult to acquire lodgings.[106]

Nor could sons be assured that they would inherit sufficient land upon their fathers' deaths. Mention has previously been made of the difficulty in analyzing inheritance customs in Wiltshire during the seventeenth century.[107] Those few wills which exhibit actual bequests of land vary so widely between primogeniture and partible inheritance that no valid generalization is possible. Generally, fathers who were customary tenants would attempt, during their lifetime, to extend their holdings or add a "life" to their copies and/or leases in order to provide for their offspring. Yet, considering once again the rise of rents and steep entry fines facing sitting tenants, many family farmers may have found this increasingly

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[104]Rents on "new takings," as opposed to rents on lands with sitting tenants; the latter have previously been analyzed above, pp. 162-3.

[105]Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," p. 488.

[106]See above, pp. 149-51.

[107]See above, p. 139.

impossible to accomplish. It was not, then, a foregone conclusion that sons of smaller or middling farmers would automatically be settled on land after their fathers had died.

Those who were fortunate enough to acquire a small parcel of land and a cottage often had to turn to some form of wage work in order to supplement their meager farming income. Usually, this entailed working as a day-laborer in agriculture, but could also mean part-time employment in the textile industry (particularly in Cheese or Cotswold Wiltshire). In neither case were the possibilities of gaining bye-employment very promising. The stagnation of the cloth industry in the central broadcloth region of the county has already been mentioned. Though the evidence is slight, available data suggests that wages given to agricultural laborers in no way kept pace with rising prices, and wage-earners in general were faced with a rapidly decling standard of living throughout the period.[108]

Beset with such declining opportunity, many of Wiltshire's young adults chose to delay marriage longer than usual. We have already seen that, between 1581 and 1660, the age at first marriage in Wiltshire tended to be higher than in certain other regions of the country.[109] The following table reveals that pressure to delay

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[108] P. Bowden, "Agricultural Prices, Farm Profits, Rents," pp. 599-601. As the author himself readily admits, however, the conclusions of this particular analysis are still tentative, and their relevance to specific localities (such as Wiltshire) is highly uncertain. It must also be remembered that this erosion of the buying power of wages was a slow process, taking place over a period of a century at best. Agriculture production was rising at the same time, and there is no evidence of mass starvation and hordes of people wandering from place to place in search of food and literally dying of hunger.

[109] See above, pp. 13-14.

marriage in some parts of Wiltshire was greatest during that period in which the normal expectations of young adults were being disturbed.

TABLE 17

CHANGING MEAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE AMONG MALES IN TWO WILTSHIRE PARISHES, 1581-1660[a]

Parish	1581-1620	1621-1660
Stourton	26	29.3
Broad Chalk	27.4	30.5

[a]The sources used to compile the table were those noted on page 14, above. Interestingly, very little change in the age at first marriage is discernible at Angmering, Sussex, in southeastern England. During the years 1581-1620, the mean age at first marriage for Angmering males was 26.6; between 1621 and 1660 it actually dropped to 26.1.

The decision to postpone marriage even longer during the later period may have been the result of several factors, not the least important of which was economic necessity. In pre-industrial English society, marriage normally meant the creation of a new household immediately, and therefore could not take place unless an economic basis for a new household existed. Overcrowding and soaring land prices in parts of Wiltshire, along with the general social prohibition of extended households,[110] combined to erode this

[110]An "extended" household was one in which a young, recently-married couple lived with their parents and (less often) with their grandparents until they had the means to set up a household of their

necessary economic basis.

Frustrated in their attempts to acquire land, their desire to marry, rear families, and generally establish themselves in their communities, many of Wiltshire's young adults may have perceived migration as the only sensible alternative. Indeed, the population trends of certain pastoral villages suggest that out-migration may have been considerable from approximately the 1630's through the 1660's. Statistics in Appendix E and Figures 15-19 seem to indicate that the tremendous demographic expansion of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries began to slow considerably, and in some cases decline, beginning either in the 1630's or 1640's. However, one must first determine whether this decline was more apparent than real. That is, incomplete registration of baptisms and births during the 1640's and 1650's will inevitably lower any population estimate based solely on annual average christenings and births. In general, it is true that parish registers were rather haphazardly kept during the Interregnum. Yet, the registrars of baptisms (and births after 1654) at some parishes-- including Box, Corsham and Lacock --were unusually assiduous, and the registration was atypically complete.

What, then, caused this demographic decline or levelling off exhibited by these parishes? One might be tempted to blame, as others have,[111] the heavy death toll inflicted by disease during the 1640's

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own. It is widely agreed that the extended household or family was generally stigmatized, actually prohibited in some areas, and thus was very uncommon in seventeenth-century England. Hence, a young man and woman would postpone marriage until they were financially prepared to establish their own household. See Wrigley, Population and History, pp. 116-18.

[111]Clarkson, The Pre-Industrial Economy, pp. 28-30; Chambers,

and 1650's. But, we have seen that mortality crises were no more numerous during these decades than previously or later. Moreover, recorded burials were not significantly higher in most of the parishes under scrutiny during the 1640's or 1650's.[112] A second possible reason for the slowing of population is a decline in the birth rate. Unfortunately, insufficient data precludes verification of this thesis.[113] A final possibility is one which we saw at work in several Wiltshire towns during the period: outmigration. Proof of migration away from these rural areas is difficult, especially since no comprehensive lists of inhabitants (similar to the Warminster town lists) exist to substantiate it; but assuming the birth rate remained essentially the same throughout the century, out-migration certainly would help explain the levelling of demographic growth.

If many of Wiltshire's rural young-- faced with the serious obstacles outlined above --did in fact migrate, one must ask where

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Population, Economy and Society, p. 136; Wrigley, Population and History, pp. 82-8.

[112]Burials at Lacock averaged 25.8 p. a. between 1621-1640, and only 24.75 between 1641-1660. Burials at both Box and Corsham were somewhat higher in the later period (13 p.a. and 33.2 p.a.). But this was a very slight increase which was probably offset by increases in baptisms:

Box, 1621-40	20.05
Box, 1641-60	22.11
Corsham, 1621-40	42.15
Corsham, 1641-60	43.5

[113]Demographers usually calculate the birth rate by calculating births per 1,000 population. Change in the birth rate can be shown by comparing the rate per 1,000 population at an earlier and later date (e.g. 1615, 1655). Unfortunately, there are no two population estimates for any of the parishes under analysis. The population estimates in Appendix E, for the most part, are based on average annual baptisms, and necessarily assume that the birth rate remained the same throughout the century.

they went. Towns customarily were attractive places for the young,[114] but it has been shown in the previous section that, with few exceptions, Wiltshire towns were already losing their attractiveness. Surely, some of the country's larger cities, such as Bristol and London, were still very popular and continued to draw their share of immigrants. But, neither of these burgeoning urban conglomerates offered the security and success psychologically and socially attached to land. Moreover, moving to non-urban areas in search of work and permanent settlement proved very difficult, in light of the rigidly (though informally) enforced settlement laws.[115] It is not surprising, then, that so many of the rural young opted instead for emigration to the American colonies, where there were promises (hollow or not) of cheap and abundant land.[116]

Very much like seventeenth-century English towns, woodland and pasture regions are said to have been nurseries of religious radicalism and nonconformity. The astute, if somewhat jaundiced, pen of John Aubrey noted that people of woodland regions-- "mean people [who] live lawless[ly], nobody to govern them, they care

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[114] On the frequency of general rural-urban migration during the period, see Patten, Rural-Urban Migration.

[115] Once they attempted to move, lower-class migrants often found themselves branded (and punished) as vagrants. Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy," 361. For the marked similarities between New World emigrants and seventeenth-century vagrants, see Section I, A & B.

[116] It is a worn-out commonplace to say that land was a positive inducement to colonization; but it nevertheless may have been true. Mildred Campbell cites a member of the Barbados assembly who in 1665 said: "Now we can get few English servants, having no lands to give them at the end of their time which formerly was their main allurement." Campbell, "Social Origins," p. 83.

for nobody, having no dependence on anybody" --were prone to religious fanaticism. The woodland-pasture inhabitants of Wiltshire were also "fanatics", because that "sour, woodsere country" in which they dwelt "inclines people to contemplation; so that, and the Bible, and ease, for it is all now upon dairy-grazing and clothing, sit there with a-running and reforming."[117] On this general equation of religious "enthusiasm" and wood-pasture regions, modern scholarship has recently concurred. Alan Everitt has shown that of all Kent's agricultural regions, the Weald (a forest-pasture district) had the heaviest concentration of nonconformity.[118] The woodland parishes of the Weald are also said to have contained the greatest concentration of Puritans in Sussex during the years preceding the Civil War.[119] Professor Underdown notes that most 'puritan' parishes of Somerset before the Civil War were those within the wood-pasture triangle of Bath-Frome-Shepton Mallet. Finally, a recent study of puritanism in Lancashire and Cheshire has demonstrated that rural puritanism was strongest in pastoral areas.[120]

Generally, historians have reasoned that the peculiar socio-

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[117] J. Aubrey, "An Introduction to the Survey and Natural History of the Northern Division of the County of Wiltshire," in E. Curll, ed., Miscellanies on Several Curious Subjects (London, 1714), p. 30; Britton, ed., The Nat. Hist. of Wilts. by John Aubrey, pp. 9-10.

[118] Alan Everitt, "Nonconformity in Country Parishes," Agricultural History Review, Supplement, XVIII (1970), pp. 178-99. Dr. Everitt has found, moreover, that religious dissent was conspicuously absent from the county's Chalk downlands.

[119] Fletcher, A County Community in Peace and War, p. 61.

[120] D. Underdown, Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum, p. 22; R. C. Richardson, Puritanism in North-western England: A Regional Study of the Diocese of Chester to 1642 (Manchester, 1972), p. 36.

economic development and characteristics of most of the forest-pasture districts go far in explaining the marked incidence of religious radicalism there. The scattered nature of settlement and relative weakness of (or total lack of) manorial framework in the regions precluded any real religious or social control. The rapid, concentrated growth of population-- much of it a result of immigration --in the decades before 1640, and likely dependence on outside areas for many foodstuffs helped breed a sense of insecurity in the wood-pasture regions which, more often than not, translated into religious experimentation.[121]

Since it has already been demonstrated that Wiltshire's woodland and pasture regions shared many of these socio-economic characteristics, it would be interesting to determine whether religious radicalism was in fact strongest in those areas. And since the forest-pasture regions of the county sent the majority of Wiltshire rural emigrants during the 1630's and 1650's, one must ask if religious discontent represented an important motivational factor in the emigration to the colonies.

Besides Aubrey's impressionistic remarks about the people of pastoral Wiltshire, there is little statistical basis for generalizations linking Wiltshire's forest-pasture districts with puritanism or any sort of religious dissent during the 1620's and 1630's.[122]

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[121]See, in particular, Everitt, Change in the Provinces: The Seventeenth Century, p. 36.

[122]Kerridge's assertion that puritanism was strongest in Cheese Wiltshire is based entirely on Aubrey's remarks. See Kerridge, "Agrarian Development," p. 607; Kerridge, "Revolts in Wiltshire," p. 71.

The lack of hard evidence may be partially a result of generally inadequate local records. Perhaps the most reliable source for analyzing lay religious feeling, the annual presentments of churchwardens, exist only for the three Salisbury parishes. The Archdeacon's and Bishop's Act Books, which record cases held before the ecclesiastical courts, are extant; but, by no means were all (or even nearly all) lay ecclesiastical offenders actually hailed before the courts. Nor are the hundred juries' presentments to the county's Quarter Sessions much help in this regard: though they were required to present obstinate non-churchgoers, the hundred and petty jurors seem to have been more concerned with Roman Catholics.[123] The Act Books reveal many cases of non-attendance and non-communicancy; but this is not really proof of religious radicalism or dissent. Most cases dealt with issues of mortality-- drunkenness, lewd behavior, pre-marital intercourse, etc. None of these is generally regarded as a sign of religious sectarianism or puritanism.[124] In fact, the available records in no way suggest any widespread religious discontent in the 1630's, and what little did exist was by no means restricted to forest-pastoral areas.[125]

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[123] These presentments are filled with names of Catholic recusants throughout the 1630's. See WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, hundred and petty jurors' presentments.

[124] The Church court records, all at the DRO in Salisbury, consulted were as follows: Bishop's Act Bks. (Office), No.'s 11-12 (1622-35); Archdeacon of Sarum, Act Bks. No.'s 14-15 (1624-40, with a gap between 1630-6); Archdeacon of Wiltshire, Visitation Book, (1621-42); Archdeacon of Wilts., Act Bks. (Office), No. 7 (1632-42).

[125] This of course lends further weight to the conclusion reached in Section II, B., that there was not as much trouble with Puritans in Wiltshire as there was in East Anglia and other parts of the country.

Evidence of a strong correlation between religious dissent and forest-pasture communities during the 1640's and 1650's is much more substantial. Instances of radical religious behavior in the county's northwestern pastoral region appear periodically in the local records. In 1656, William Bond and Thomas Hibbard, both weavers of Lacock, were indicted for atheism and blasphemy. The former reputedly said that there was no God, Christ, or power ruling above the planets, and "that if the Scriptures were a-making again, Tom Lampire of Melksham would make as good a scripture as the Bible." Hibbard proclaimed that God was the author of all things, including evil and wickedness, and sarcastically added "that he would sell all religions for a jug of beer."[126] A year or so later, several inhabitants of Box and Lea were indicted for "rude and malicious disrupting of divine service."[127] After 1656, Quakerism and Anabaptism made great progress in that district, as well as in the county's southeastern and southwestern pastoral regions.[128] Baptist activity was particularly prevalent in the woodland-pasture borders of Wiltshire and Somerset, where meetings took place in remote wooded areas. So well organized and widespread was religious dissent in that

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[126]WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Easter 1656, indictments. Christopher Hill has suggested that these two men were part of the last remnants of Ranterism in England. Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, p. 183.

[127]WRO, Quarter Sessions, Great Rolls, Easter 1658, Trinity 1658, indictments of John Parker, Roger Smart and Jane Bolwell.

[128]Bishop Seth Ward counted a considerable number of Anabaptists and Quakers at Box and the Chippenham-Lacock district in 1669. See Turner, ed., Original Records of Early Nonconformity, pp. 106-35. VCH, Wilts., III, pp. 102-15.

district that the Government feared uprisings.[129] Final support of the thesis comes from the Ecclesiastical Census of 1676, which attempted to assess the numerical strength of Roman Catholicism and nonconformity throughout the country. The Wiltshire record suggests that some 40 per cent of listed nonconformists lived in pastoral regions-- an area with a population amounting to only about 27 per cent of the county's total. On the other hand, the Chalk region, with about a quarter of the county's population, had only about 8 per cent of the total nonconformists.[130]

It remains, then, to determine whether (or to what degree) religious discontent played a role in the decision of Wiltshire's rural emigrants to move to the American colonies. It has previously been suggested that, as far as the records indicate, neither of the two districts which sent most of Wiltshire's rural emigrants to New England in the 1630's-- the Landford-Plaitford-Whiteparish region in the south-east and the Vale of Wardour parishes in the south-west --were hotbeds of puritan activity. There were in the latter district, however, some local controversies over nonconformity which

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[129] Turner, ed., Early Records, pp. 127-35; DRO, Churchwardens Presentments (1662). Deaneries of Potterne, Amesbury, Wilton, Wylye; PRO, S.P. 29/44/83,90; S.P. 29/47/119.

[130] The figures given in the census are not always reliable (if anything, they underestimate the extent of nonconformity), but Prof. Everitt has shown it to be a useful tool for this type of analysis. Everitt, "Nonconformity in Country Parishes," 180-5. The Compton Census for Wiltshire is published in Wilts. Notes & Queries, 3(1895), 533-39. The record lacks statistics for several areas, including the towns of Calne, Devizes (one parish missing), Mere, Westbury, Salisbury, and Wilton. Data on the latter two can be found, however, in Bishop Ward's survey of 1669, published in Turner, ed., Original Records, pp. 127-35.

must be looked at more closely. At Sutton Mandeville, the Rector, Gabriel Sanger, found himself in considerable trouble with the Church authorities when he denounced the Book of Sports and, according to one witness, said that "those that did allow of sports and past-tymes upon the sabbath were not the children of God..."[131] Sanger apparently enjoyed some popularity as a preacher, since local Church officials went to great pains to prevent laymen from neighboring parishes from hearing him.[132] Is it safe to assume that Sanger's parishioners Walter Haynes; his family and the indentured servants who went with him were in agreement with their pastor's religious opinions, and that their decision to leave Sutton Mandeville for New England was religiously motivated? We do know that both Haynes and John Rediat later became Church members in New England; but, this, unfortunately, says little or nothing about their religious convictions while in England, or whether they suffered there because of their beliefs.[133]

There is, however, direct evidence of puritan behavior on the part of at least one of the Vale of Wardour emigrants, Edmund Goodenow of Donhead St. Andrew. Goodenow and fellow churchwarden,

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[131] DRO, Consistory Court of Sarum. Depositions Bk. No. 52 (1633-4), depositions of Thomas Feltham, William Snooke, and Robert Luckes.

[132] In January, 1639, the Archdeacon's court rebuked William Rogers of Tisbury for attending Sanger's lectures. DRO, Archdeacon of Sarum. Act Bk. No. 15 (1636-40), f. 103r. Sanger was tried before the Court of High Commission in 1635, but evidently was permitted to return to Sutton Mandeville. CSPD, vol. 8 (1635), pp. 201, 208, 215.

[133] On freemanship and church membership in Massachusetts, see above, pp. 121.

Roger Strong, were hailed before the Archdeacon's court in January, 1637 for continual failure to attend services at their parish church. As punishment, they were required to distribute 30s. to the poor and to perform a humiliating public penance before their fellow parishioners.[134] A short while later, Goodenow and his two brothers, Ralph and Simon (neither of whom emigrated), were charged with going to Shaftesbury to attend services on Sundays and holydays rather than at their own parish church. While at the Archdeacon's court, they asked permission to attend services at Shaftesbury in the future.[135] Though they gave no reasons for their request, it is obvious that they had grown accustomed to attending services at Holy Trinity, Shaftesbury, conducted by its puritan minister, Edward Williams. The latter was presented by a group of his own parishioners in 1634 for refusing to read the Book of Common Prayer, to perform the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and for seeking to advance to positions of authority parishioners who were "factioushe/ly/ inclined."[136] Predictably, the Goodenow brothers were not granted their request, but instead told to return to the court in a month with a certificate from their pastor showing that they had attended services at their own church. Perhaps, then, Edmund Goodenow perceived the opportunity to go to New England as a means of ridding himself

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[134]DRO, Archdeacon of Sarum. Act Book No. 15 (1636-40), fol. 17r.

[135]DRO, Archdeacon of Sarum. Act Bk. No. 15 (1636-40), fols. 69v, 73v.

[136]PRO, S.P. 16/267/6. The presentment of the churchwardens and sidemen of the parish was addressed to Archbishop Laud.

of ecclesiastical courts altogether, and perhaps as a means to escape the substantial Roman Catholic influence in his native region.[137]

Little can be said assuredly about religion as a motivational factor in the emigration of the 1650's to Virginia and the West Indies. As was previously demonstrated, there certainly was a significant correlation between religious radicalism and mid-seventeenth-century pastoral regions of Wiltshire. It may be more than a coincidence, moreover, that many of the areas which were hotbeds of sectarian activity during the 1650's and 1660's were also native parishes of many rural emigrants. But, before anything definite can be said about the role of religion we need to know from which socio-economic groups members of the various radical religious sects were drawn. We do know that most of the early Quakers were over thirty years of age, and were mainly substantial yeomen-- facts which cast considerable doubt on the notion that many of the emigrants of the period were drawn from that sect.[138] On the other hand, we now know that many people who joined the Ranters were young and migratory-- apprentices and journeymen

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[137]It is somewhat ironic that far from being centers of puritan and sectarian activity during the 1630's, the Vale of Wardour parishes which sent the Haynes, Goodenows and others to New England represented a region which had the greatest incidence of Catholic recusancy in the entire county. The hundred and petty jury presentments of the period repeatedly cite scores of recusants for non-church-going. Undoubtedly, the influence of the Catholic Arundells of Wardour was of paramount importance there: the family owned vast estates throughout the region.

[138]Vann, Social Development of English Quakerism, pp. 50, 59-60, 71, 83-4.

who were still unsettled.[139] Unfortunately, we know little else about the Ranters-- for example, their geographic origins, their economic status --and nothing about the social incidence of Anabaptism, which evidently was fairly widespread in Wiltshire forest-pasture districts. Perhaps more importantly, it is essential to determine the extent of local persecution to which these various sects were subjected during the Interregnum.[140] Without this sort of information, the question of whether religion was an important motivational factor in the movement of young adults across the Atlantic remains essentially unanswerable.

The section began with a discussion of the socio-economic structure of the various regions from which the great majority of Wiltshire rural emigrants originated. We saw that most of the county's American colonists were from wooded, pastoral areas, the inhabitants of which were somewhat different from those who lived in the sheep-and-corn Chalk region. Those who dwelt within the pasture-farming communities-- including the bulk of seventeenth-century emigrants --were either themselves, or their parents, likely to have been immigrants, to have had a background of mobility, which undoubtedly made the decision to emigrate easier. Moreover, a great many of the rural emigrants lived in regions from which true manorial authority and control had either disappeared entirely

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[139] Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, p. 152. Youth was the one characteristic shared by members of this sect and the Wiltshire emigrants.

[140] It can be noted, however, that the Quarter Sessions rolls of the period are not over-laden with indictments of individual religious sectarians, at least not before 1662.

or was fading rapidly. Resident manorial landlords could (and did), through the manorial courts, exert an important influence and control over their tenants. Hence, where this manorial control existed, as it did in most parts of champaign, arable, Chalk Wiltshire, society was relatively static and generally subservient. In the woodland and pasture regions of the county, on the other hand, society was generally freer and relatively more mobile. As manors were dismembered, demesnes were sold off, and the courts decayed over much of pastoral Wiltshire, tenants' dependence on landlords waned until they owed little to their lords save their periodic rents.

This relative or complete lack of manorial control was partially responsible for the great demographic increase in these areas. Population continued to grow rapidly into the fourth and fifth decades of the seventeenth century, so that the pasture-farming regions were generally more densely populated than the other farming regions. This large reserve of labor went a long way toward determining that the location of the county's rural textile industry would be the pastoral areas. We saw, however, that the rural emigrants to America were from districts within the general textile area which were never completely dominated by the industry. Yet, inhabitants of communities like Box, Corsham, Landford, and Semley-- all of which sent many emigrants during the 1630's and 1650's --were probably less affected by the industrial disruptions of the century. As was true of urban emigration, the decline of the woollen textile industry as a motivational factor in Wiltshire was been overrated. It was also shown that harvest failures and disease-induced mortality crises played little, if any, role in the rural emigration from Wiltshire.

Moreover, we have seen that enclosures in Wiltshire pastoral regions, though very extensive during the early seventeenth century and often entailing a loss of common rights, led not to depopulation (from emigration or otheriwse) but to continued population increase.

This continued population growth inevitably led to overcrowding and land shortages. A general land hunger developed which, in turn, tended to push up entry fines and rents. More than any other segment of the population, rising rents and general land shortage most adversely affected the young. We have seen that rents may have been becoming so prohibitive in these regions that young people's normal expectations of getting married and setting up households began to appear unattainable. Perceiving this, many undoubtedly moved elsewhere in search of better opportunities; and, considering the alternatives open to young men and women in their native country, it is not surprising that many opted for emigration to America.

Little, however, could be concluded about the importance of religion in Wiltshire as a motivating force during the 1630's emigration. Available records simply will not allow a complete substantiation of the thesis that wood-pasture regions of Wiltshire were also centers of pre-Civil War puritanism. There were some instances of puritan activity in at least one of the districts which sent a number of emigrants to New England, but this by no means proves that this particular district was a hot-bed of puritanism or that those who emigrated from that district were religiously motivated. On the other hand, the records tend to suggest that many of those areas of Wiltshire which sent a great many emigrants during the

1650's were also areas of heaviest sectarian activity throughout the Interregnum and after. This may be more than a coincidence; but, as we have seen, more research on a number of problems is needed before anything definite can be said about the role religion played in the emigration of that decade.

CONCLUSION

It was suggested at the outset of this study that the two major questions involved in any analysis of emigration are "who went" and "why". The questions seem obvious, but as they relate to seventeenth-century emigration to the American colonies, they are difficult to answer with precision. To some extent this results from the nature of the surviving evidence. The records cannot be expected to reveal very much about the emigrants as persons if for no other reason than that they were mainly very ordinary people. Nobody except themselves and their town and village officials much cared who they were; nobody except the clergyman entered the few basic facts of their lives in the parish register. If they could write-- and in the early seventeenth century most could not --the emigrants evidently left no diaries, letters, or statements of motives.

The task of identifying and reconstructing the thoughts and motives of such an anonymous body of people in order to understand their movements is therefore a very formidable one. Yet, the task has been pursued in this study as far as reasonably possible, if only in the first instance to test the many general studies which have been undertaken, and to determine how representative the conclusions are of those few specialized and local analyses of seventeenth-century emigration to the New World.

Who, then, were the emigrants who left Wiltshire for New England, Virginia, and the West Indies in stages between 1635 and

1660? Through a careful study of the early passenger lists and indenture enrollments, as well as of parish and other local records, it has been possible to establish, at least in outline, the character of this group. Most of those who left Wiltshire for New England between 1635 and 1638 were single, though there was a substantial minority of married couples who travelled with their children. Most, too, were relatively young, and fell between the ages 16 and 30. This pattern of young, unmarried persons was especially shaped by a significant servant element among the emigrants. Most of the others were urban artisans, drawn heavily from the two largest towns of the county, Salisbury and Marlborough. The rural emigrants, on the other hand, originated almost exclusively in forest-pasture regions within Wiltshire.

As we have seen, these emigrant characteristics compare rather favorably with those of another important group of similar destination-- the East Anglian-Kentish emigrants who departed in 1637. Most of the emigrants involved in the movement from that region were under 30 years of age. A substantial number were servants, and most of the rest were urban artisans. In both the Wiltshire and East Anglian-Kentish emigrations, bonds of kinship and neighborhood were very much in evidence, the latter affecting the pattern of initial settlement in New England. Perhaps most importantly, both groups were remarkably ordinary. That is, there were few if any clergy and gentry, and no members of the urban political or social elite complemented their ranks. Indeed, there was nothing exceptional about their trades or origins at all. Nor were they particularly exceptional in terms of their demonstrable financial positions. As far as can be

determined, a few were relatively well off, some were definitely poor, but most fell between the two extremes. In only one important respect is there a noticeable difference between the two groups: there tended to be more married couples (and thus children) among the emigrants from East Anglia and Kent. There is no evidence that this particular dissimilarity reflects a major difference in the reasons why members of either group chose to emigrate. Rather, we have seen that the difference in marital status was most likely a result of a rather striking regional variation in the age at marriage.

A close examination of another set of seventeenth-century Wiltshire emigrants-- the indentured servants who left, via Bristol, during the 1650's --reveals that they were not very much different from those who departed the county for New England during the 1630's. It has been shown that the age structure of the two Wiltshire groups was basically similar; that both displayed important kinship and neighborhood ties; and that their geographic origins were similar, with most of the 1650's emigrants hailing from towns and a significant minority from wood-pasture regions. The only discernible difference between the two sets of Wiltshire emigrants is that there were fewer families among those who emigrated during the 1650's.

Perhaps the most important discovery, upon comparison of both Wiltshire groups, is that the occupational distribution was very much alike. It has traditionally been assumed that, in terms of occupations, the emigrants of the 1650's were very different from the earlier emigrants to New England. This contention is, by and large, based on Mildred Campbell's conclusion that agricultural groups-- many yeomen and a few husbandmen --comprised the bulk of the

indentured servants who left for Virginia and the West Indies. There is strong evidence, however, that the term "yeoman" is invalid, or at least impossible to define generically, and is thus misleading when applied to most of these emigrants. In truth, many of the so-called "yeomen" were young apprentices, servants-in-husbandry, or journeymen-craftsmen.

Combined with what we know about the personal characteristics of East Anglian-Kentish emigrants to New England, as well as the characteristics exhibited by Gloucestershire and Somerset emigrants to Virginia and the West Indies during the 1650's, these conclusions concerning the two groups of Wiltshire emigrants suggest a composite picture of the seventeenth-century emigrant. It is a picture that is at once supportive of, and different from, the classic portrayal of the emigrants as young, single farmers without strong ties to their communities and families. Although the typical emigrant who emerges from this study was male, relatively young, and unmarried, it has also been established that he was more often than not drawn from an urban community, practiced a craft, and maintained, rather than abandoned, kinship and neighborhood ties during both the journey across the Atlantic and the first years of settlement in the New World.

Such an analysis of the emigrants' predominant personal characteristics allows one, up to a point, to separate the emigrants from the non-emigrants. It tells us what part of the population was <u>most likely</u> to pull up roots and move. Moreover, characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, occupation and geographic origin aid in assessing the relevance of factors behind the decision

to emigrate.

For example, one of the persistent motivational factors cited as leading to the early- and mid-seventeenth-century emigration to America has been the decline of the woollen industry. A close examination of the Wiltshire emigrants' listed occupations, however, reveals that neither the 1630's nor the 1650's emigration heavily involved workers engaged in various aspects of textile manufacture. More importantly, a close look at the geographic origins of the emigrants, an analysis of the economic structure of these communities, and a careful study of the course of that industry there, reveals that the traditional overemphasis on the decline of the cloth trade evidently has been exaggerated, at least for Wiltshire. Towns such as Trowbridge, Bradford-on-Avon, and Westbury-- all of which sent many emigrants --quickly recovered from depression by the successful conversion to the new medley cloth production. Moreover, Wiltshire emigrants to America originated mainly from towns and villages which, though within the general textile-producing region, were never completely dominated economically by the industry. Inhabitants of towns such as Salisbury and Warminster, or of rural communities such as Box, Corsham, Landford, and Semley, were never as seriously affected by disruptions in the cloth industry as were other places within the county which, curiously, sent few if any emigrants.

Attention to the emigrants' geographic origins, and a close look at the history and effects of enclosures and disforestments in Wiltshire during the first half of the century, casts doubt on the historiographical commonplace that losses resulting from both

contributed to emigration. There certainly was a good deal of enclosure and disforestment in Wiltshire during the period preceding emigration, sometimes causing short-term distress. But nowhere in the county was either practice a cause of depopulation. To the contrary, they tended to result in immigration and therefore increased population.

On the other hand, emigrant characteristics such as sex, marital status, and geographic origin imply additional motives which hitherto have been slighted in most general accounts of seventeenth-century colonial emigration. For instance, I have indicated that towns and forest-pasture regions were the two major geographic sources of Wiltshire's emigrants to the New World. The county's urban centers and its pasture-farming communities both exhibited special features during the period which, in many respects, made them likely recruiting grounds for emigrants to America, as well as for English migrants in general. In both, feudal ties of subordination hardly existed, or were rapidly waning, so that neither social nor religious control was very strong. Inhabitants of towns and forest-pasture communities were thus generally freer and more mobile than those of heavily manorialized, champaign regions. Both Wiltshire's towns and its pastoral parishes, moreover, were relatively heavily populated. Most of the population was built on immigration, a result in large measure of the absence of manorial control. It is likely that many of the emigrants, or their parents had been immigrants, and thus displayed a habit of mobility which surely made the decision to emigrate easier.

Moreover, both towns and forest-pasture communities tended to

lose inhabitants, starting in the third or fourth decade of the century and continuing through the 1660's. We have seen that many of those who left during these years were young, unmarried males-- characteristics exhibited, perhaps not coincidentally, by emigrants to the American colonies. Indeed, a major contention of this study has been that the reasons for the noticeable domestic out-migration from Wiltshire towns and forest-pasture regions serve also as important factors behind Wiltshire emigration to America. Apprenticeship opportunities in several major urban centers appear to have been diminishing. Customs of inheritance often worked to preclude the acquisition of sufficient land or goods needed to establish a firm footing in Wiltshire towns or forest-pasture villages. Largely because of demographic pressures caused by expansion during the previous decades, young townsmen were finding it increasingly difficult to establish themselves as craftsmen, while young men in most rural regions, faced with soaring rents on new takings, were finding it impossible to secure land.

All of this undoubtedly contributed to the decision of many Wiltshiremen to delay marriage longer than usual, and led many of them to migrate. But, as local towns (and perhaps towns throughout the realm) began to lose their traditional appeal, and as it became more difficult to move anywhere in search of permanent footing, men were more likely to run the risk of emigration to the New World. There, it was perceived (not always correctly), they could obtain the secure freehold land, and with it status,

to which they could never aspire in overcrowded England.

The geographic origins, ages, and occupations of Wiltshire emigrants assist in assessing additional motives for emigration to America during the seventeenth century. The role of religion, for instance, has in the past given rise to heated debate, particularly over the primacy of economic versus religious factors. Recently, Timothy Breen and Stephen Foster dismissed the debate as "unhistorical," and claimed that religious nonconformity and economic distress were, in fact, inseparable issues. They sought to demonstrate that an important correlation between religious dissent and urban centers (especially among artisans) existed during the 1620's and 1630's, particularly in East Anglia.

My study has turned up little statistical support for this view-- for the contention that the geographic centers of seventeenth-century puritanism in Wiltshire were its towns and forest-pasture communities. Nor is it possible to confirm the assumption that, during the 1620's and 1630's, artisans in Wiltshire were most susceptible to radical religious notions. Nor do the local records reveal many instances of "harassment" of nonconformists by overzealous Church officials, as was evident, for instance, in East Anglia. In short, Breen and Foster's equation of disgruntled tradesmen and disgruntled Puritans, when applied to the 1630's in Wiltshire, finds little or no factual support.

Clearly, then, there is much more evidence of economic dislocation than religious distress in Wiltshire during the 1630's. Can one conclude from this that Wiltshire's emigrants to New England left for more secular reasons than those from East

Anglia? Probably not. The available evidence simply will not permit a firm judgement one way or another. It was demonstrated that where full records of lay religious discontent-- in the form of churchwardens' presentments --are available, as they are for the town of Salisbury, there also exists considerable evidence of "puritan" and sectarian activity. It is entirely possible that if these valuable sources were available for other Wiltshire towns and forest-pasture parishes, many more manifestations of lay religious discontent might be revealed, and thus lend support to the commonplace that religion was an important factor in the 1630's emigration to New England. Interestingly, there is more concrete evidence of a correlation between the geographic origins of the 1650's emigrants and religious radicalism. The records indicate that Wiltshire towns and forest-pasture regions were, by the 1650's and 1660's, indeed fertile areas for the growth of all sorts of religious sects.

But before anything else can be concluded about the role of religion in the 1650's emigration, it is imperative that we determine which socio-economic groups were especially affected by these various radical religious notions. For instance, from what we know about the typical age, occupations, and social status of Quakers during the Interregnum, one might safely conclude that they were not likely to have been among the emigrants who left Wiltshire during the 1650's. On the other hand, too little is known about the type of people who comprised the bulk of the Anabaptists-- perhaps the single most important radical religious sect in Wiltshire during the 1650's and early 1660's. We have seen that Baptists in

Wiltshire gained footholds early and increased their strength rapidly in many of the county's towns and most of its forest-pasture regions during that period. If it could be determined that the principal early adherents of Anabaptism were young, mobile, unmarried apprentices, journeymen-craftsmen, and artisans, it might be concluded that religion played some part in the decision to emigrate to the colonies. Unless this type of research is undertaken, the question of whether or not religion was an additional factor in the emigration of the 1650's remains unanswerable.

It is hoped that this and future studies of the English background of seventeenth-century emigration to America will make it easier to discuss the experiences of the emigrants once they reached the New World. The composite memory of Old World experiences is an important variable in any analysis of immigration, and should be accorded more significance than it has heretofore received.

In one instance, the immigrants' English background has been shown to be of import: neighborhood ties among the 1630's emigrants, forged in Wiltshire, remained intact during the voyage overseas, and greatly affected the initial pattern of settlement in New England. In what other ways the initial experiences in the New World were affected by the geographic origins of the emigrants is a problem that lies beyond the scope of this study. But, some tantalizing possibilities can be suggested. As Breen and Foster submit in their pioneering study, the urban origins and artisan backgrounds of so many of the 1630's emigrants to New England may

have influenced the adoption of the unusual system of land division which is a noted feature of early Massachusetts Bay colony. Moreover, the urban and pastoral origins of so many of the 1650's emigrants may have shaped the individual migrant's choice of settlement and agricultural system, his initial attitude toward work, and ultimately even the general economic structure of the southern and island colonies. If and to what degree this may have been true is an important question that has yet to be satisfactorily answered.

Another important question to be tackled is what impact the New World had on spatial mobility, vocation, and social status. In their analysis of the experiences of a group of 1630's immigrants to Massachusetts Bay, Breen and Foster conclude that, in general, changes in these regards were minimal, at least during the first 25 years of settlement. More specifically, they demonstrate that the East Anglian and Kentish colonists exhibited a high degree of geographic mobility, not unlike that found in Elizabethan and early Stuart England.[1] Richard Dunn has shown that mobility was similarly high in the English West Indies during the seventeenth century. Much of the mobility in Barbados, for example, was engendered by an eventual land shortage which began to reach crisis proportions during the

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[1]Interestingly, Breen and Foster's findings concerning geographic mobility among early colonists of New England directly contradicts the conclusions of both Kenneth Lockridge (A New England Town, the First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736 [New York, 1970], pp. 63-5, 176-7) and Philip Greven (Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts [Ithaca, 1970], pp. 265-78) that Massachusetts settlements were more settled and more deeply rooted that its English counterparts. For a more damaging critique of Lockridge's and Greven's conclusions on comparative geographic mobility, see W. R. Prest, "Stability and Change in Old and New England: Clayworth and Dedham,"

1660's.[2]

Finally, it does not appear that social status was much affected, initially, as previously had been thought. Breen and Foster found that, in general, "prominence in the New World had followed substance in the Old," and that those emigrants of lower social station did not generally improve their lot in New England.[3] Scattered data concerning the New World wealth of several Wiltshire emigrants conforms to this general picture.[4] There is some evidence that the social status of some Wiltshire emigrants to Barbados was similarly little altered by the Atlantic passage. Of those former servants who chose to remain on the Island and who survived until 1680, few succeeded in lifting their status higher than that of a

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[2]Faced with the alternative of remaining as wage-earning laborers, many of the servant-immigrants opted for migration to one of the less congested Leeward Islands, or emigration to Virginia or Carolina. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, pp. 53, 67-8, 88, 110-11. At least one of the Wiltshire emigrants to Barbados, John Bessent of Wootton Bassett (Wilts.), left the island in 1672 with his family for South Carolina. See Agnes L. Baldwin, First Settlers of South Carolina, 1670-80 (Columbia, S. C., 1969).

[3]Breen and Foster, "Moving to the New World," 216-20.

[4]A thorough comparison of comparative wealth is impossible, mainly because of a paucity of data. However, there is some evidence that some of the emigrants, such as Zacheus Courtis and John Blandford, were not very well off financially when they left Wiltshire, and they apparently did not appreciably alter their status (at least in relation to their fellow emigrants) in the New World. See NEGHR, 33 (1879), 162; Powell, Puritan Village, Appendix VI, pp. 189-90. On the other hand, Christopher Batt and Walter Haynes were both fairly prominent Wiltshire tradesmen who did quite well in New England. See NEGHR, 52 (1898), 49; Powell, Puritan Village, Appendix VI, pp. 189-90.

small planter or simple freeman.[5]

All of these possibilities dealing with the contribution of the Old World background to the initial New World experience, and the effects of the New World environment on mobility and status are offered as suggestions only. It may be that they were not at all typical. Similarly, it may be that the composite picture of the seventeenth-century emigrant presented in this study, and the contributing motivational factors analyzed herein, are not truly representative of seventeenth-century English emigration to New England, Barbados, and Virginia. Both the emigration of the 1630's and the 1650's involved many thousands of English men and women from every region of the realm. Hence, it would be foolish to claim absolute certainity based on a sample of only several hundred from but one county. Yet, it seems that the type of study presented here has made at least some contribution. It has allowed us to test the generalizations about the overall nature of seventeenth-century emigration from England to America. More importantly, it has provided a brief glimpse of both the face and mind of a group of people who for much too long have been veiled in anonymity and misconception.

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[5]Fairly complete data on Barbadian landholding and slaveholding in 1680 survives in the form of an invaluable census of that year. The document itself (ref. PRO, C.O. 1/44/142-379) was not consulted, but printed returns of five of the eleven parishes (see, Hotten, Original Lists, pp. 347-508) were. Several of the 1650's Wiltshire emigrants, including David Morgan and John Lewis, held enough land and slaves to be considered "small planters". The latter have been defined by Dunn (see Sugar and Slaves, p. 92) as colonists holding ten or more acres, but fewer than twenty slaves. Richard Ford and William Clarke, however, can be considered only "freemen". That is, they held fewer than ten acres of land, had few (if any) slaves, and could not vote.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A: Wiltshire Emigrants, 1635-1638

Bibliographic Note

The appendix was compiled through the use of a variety of sources. First and foremost, three passenger lists dated from Southampton April 1635, April 1638, and May 1638. That of April 1635 is printed in the New England Genealogical and Historical Register, 14(1860), 332-4. That of April 1638 is also printed, with some error, in that volume. The original is in Great Britain's Public Record Office (C.O. 1/9/246-7). The final list is printed in John C. Hotten, ed., The Original Lists of Persons of Quality...and Others who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700 (London, 1874), pp. 298-9. There were several other Wiltshire emigrants who do not appear on any of these three lists, but who most assuredly emigrated. These will be marked by an asterisk, and the source(s) used identified.

Information concerning age and occupation is not always given on the passenger lists (particularly that of April 1635), so various genealogical studies and some original parish registers were used to fill in some of the gaps. The registers of most of the emigrants' parishes of origin are either in the Wiltshire Record Office at Trowbridge, The Diocesan Record Office at Salisbury (which also holds the valuable Bishop's Transcripts), or the Salisbury Municipal Archives at the Council House, Salisbury.

Name	Parish of Origin	Departure Date	Age	Occupation	Sources
Thomas Scoates	____, Salisbury	April, 1635		Laborer	NEGHR, 14, 332-4
Anthony Thatcher	St. Edmund, "	"		Tanner	"
*Elizabeth Thatcher	" "	"			NEGHR, 47, 132
*____ Thatcher (child)	" "	"			"
*____ Thatcher (child)	" "	"			"
*____ Thatcher (child)	" "	"			"
*____ Thatcher (child)	" "	"			"
*Thomas Thatcher[a]	" "	"	14		NEGHR, 13, 245
Peter Higdon	____, Salisbury	"		Servant	NEGHR, 14, 332-4
Henry Levage	" "	"		Tailor	"
William Parsons	St. Edmund, "	"	19	"(?)	" St. Edmund Parish Reg.
Edmund Batter	" "	"	28	Maltser	NEGHR, 14, 332-4 St. Edmund Parish Reg.
John Small	____, "	"		Servant	NEGHR, 14, 332-4

[a] Nephew of Anthony Thatcher

Name	Parish of Origin	Departure Date	Age	Occupation	Sources
Philip Verin[b]	St. Edmund, Salisbury	April, 1635		Roper	NEGHR, 14, 332-4
Joshua Verin[c]	____, "	"			"
Thomas Antram	St. Edmund, "	"	33	Weaver	St. Edmund Parish Reg. NEGHR, 14, 332-4
Thomas Browne	____, "	"		Servant	"
Michael Shafflin	____, "	"		Tailor	"
George Smith	____, "	"		"	"
John Greene	____, "	"		Surgeon	"
*Francis West	St. Edmund, "	?	28-32		NEGHR, 60, 142
John Evered als. Webb	Marlborough	April, 1635		Laborer or Husbandman	NEGHR 14, 332-4
Sara Evered als. Webb[d]	"	"			NEGHR, 5, 124
Gyles Butler	"	"		Laborer or Husbandman	NEGHR, 14, 332-4

[b] According to the St. Edmund's parish records, Philip Verin had four sons baptized between 1606 and 1621. It is entirely possible that these children (and perhaps his wife) accompanied him, since no "Verins" appear on the comprehensive Salisbury tax lists of 1660 (see p.45).

[c] There is no evidence that he and Philip were related.

[d] There is evidence to suggest that John and Sara Evered's children also made the voyage, but it is uncertain how many there were.

Name	Parish of Origin	Departure Date	Age	Occupation	Sources
George Cousens	Marlborough	April, 1635		Laborer or Husbandman	NEGHR, 14,332-4
Thomas Colman	"	"	33	"	" NEGHR, 11, 347
Thomas Goddard	"	"		"	NEGHR, 14, 332-4
John Pithouse	"	"		"	"
Anthony Morse	"	"	29	Shoemaker	" NEGHR, 9, 219
William Morse	"	"	27	"	NEGHR,14, 332-4 NEGHR, 12, 281
John Hide	"	"		Tailor	NEGHR, 14, 332-4
John Parker[e]	St. Mary, Marlborough	"	31	Carpenter	" St. Mary's Parish Reg.
Richard Walker	Marlborough	"	24	Shoemaker	NEGHR, 14, 332-4 NEGHR, 9, 219
Maudit Ingles	St. Mary, Marlborough	"	28	Fuller	NEGHR, 14, 332-4 St. Mary's Parish Reg.
Thomas Davis	Marlborough	"		Sawyer	NEGHR, 14, 332-4

[e] According to the St. Mary's parish register, Parker was married and had four young children at the time he emigrated. It is uncertain whether his family travelled with him in April 1635, whether they followed him to New England at a later date, or whether they emigrated at all.

Name	Parish of Origin	Departure Date	Age	Occupation	Sources
*Christopher Osgood	Marlborough	?			NEGHR, 20, 27
*Margery Osgood	"	?			"
*_____ Osgood (child)	"	?			"
Thomas Carpenter	Amesbury	April, 1635		Carpenter	NEGHR, 14, 332-4
Thomas Browne	Christian Malford	"		Weaver	"
Hercules Woodman	"	"	27	Mercer	" NEGHR, 7, 349
Nicholas Batt	Devizes	"	35	Linen Weaver	NEGHR, 14, 332-4 Wilts. N&Q, 3, 37-9
Zacheus Courtis	Downton	"	16	Laborer	NEGHR, 14, 332-4 Downton Parish Reg.
John Pike	Landford	"		Laborer	NEGHR, 14, 332-4
*Dorothy Pike	"	"			NEGHR, 7, 38
* _____ Pike	"	"			"
John Musslewhite	"	"	26	Laborer	NEGHR, 14, 332-4 Downton Parish Reg.
*Richard Rowdon	"	?			Banks, p. 180
Henry Rowse	Plaitford	"		Laborer	NEGHR, 14, 332-4
_____ Rowse (wife)	"	"			"
_____ Rowse (child)	"	"			"

Name	Parish of Origin	Departure Date	Age	Occupation	Sources
*John Bailey	Chippenham	1635			Banks, 180
*John Ayers	Ogbourne St. George	?			Banks, 180
*Thomas Macy	Chilmark	?		Yeoman or Husbandman	Banks, 177
*Nathaniel Weare	Brokenborough	?		Husbandman?	Banks, 177
*Thomas Mayhew	Tisbury	?			Banks, 182
John Sanders	Landford	April, 1638	25	Husbandman	PRO, C.O.1/9/246-7
Sara Sanders	"	"			"
John Cole	"	"	40	Servant	"
Roger Eastman	"	"	25	"	"
William Cottle	"	"	12	"	"
Robert King	"	"	24	"	"
Richard Blake	"	"	16	"	"
John Rolfe	Whiteparish (Melchet Park)	"	50	Husbandman	"
Anne Rolfe	"	"			"
Hester Rolfe (daughter)	"	"	22		" NEGHR, 66, 249, 256
*Henry Rolfe	"	1638	52	Yeoman or Husbandman	"

Name	Parish of Origin	Departure Date	Age	Occupation	Sources
*Honor Rolfe (wife)	Whiteparish (Melchet Park)	1638			NEGHR, 66, 249, 256
*Anne Rolfe (child)	"	"	12		"
*Hannah Rolfe (child)	"	"			"
Thomas Whittier[f]	"	April, 1638	18	Servant	"
Walter Haynes	Sutton Mandeville	"	55	Linen Weaver	PRO, C.O. 1/9/246-7
Elizabeth Haynes	"	"			"
Thomas Haynes (child)	"	"	under 16		"
John Haynes (child)	"	"	"		"
Joseph Haynes (child)	"	"	"		"
Suffrance Haynes (child)	"	"	"		"
Mary Haynes (child)	"	"	"		"
John Blandford	"	"	27	Servant	"
John Rediat	"	"	26	"	"
Richard Biddlecomb	"	"	16	"	"

[f] Whittier was the nephew and servant of John Rolfe.

Name	Parish of Origin	Departure Date	Age	Occupation	Sources
John Goodenowe	Semley	April, 1638	42	Husbandman	PRO, C.O. 1/9/246-7
Jane Goodenowe	"	"			"
Lydia Goodenowe (child)	"	"			"
Jane Goodenowe (child)	"	"			"
Edmund Goodenowe	Donhead St. Andrew	"	27	Husbandman	"
Anne Goodenowe	"	"			"
John Goodenowe (child)	"	"			"
Thomas Goodenowe (child)	"	"			"
Richard Sangar	"	"	18	Servant	"
Nathaniel Treadway	Semley	1638			NEGHR, 65, 246 Banks, 181
Christopher Batt	St. Martin's, Salis.	May 1638	37	Tanner	Hotten, pp. 298-9
Anne Batt	"	"	35		"
Christopher Batt (child)	"	"	4		" NEGHR, 52, 45-6
Anne Batt (child)	"	"	7		"
Thomas Batt (child)	"	"	2		"
Jane Batt (child)	"	"	6		"
Elizabeth Batt (child)	"	"	1		"

Name	Parish of Origin	Departure Date	Age	Occupation	Sources
Dorothy Batt	St. Martin's, Salis.	May, 1638	21		NEGHR, 52, 45-6
Thomas Good	"	"	24	Servant	Hotten, pp. 298-9
Elizabeth Brackston	St. Edmund, Salisbury	"	22	Servant	"
Rebecca Pond	"	"	18	"	" St Edmund Parish Reg.
Henry Byley	"	"	26	Tanner	Hotten, pp. 298-9 NEGHR, 52, 45-9
*Rebecca Byley	"	After 1638			"
Mary Byley	"	May, 1638	21		"
John Byley	"	"	20		"
Thomas Reeves	"	"		Servant	"
*John Wheeler[g]	"	1638-9	26 or 27		NEGHR, 8, 166 St. Edmund Parish Reg.
*____ Wheeler (wife)[g]	"	"			"
*Henry Webb	"	?			Banks, 180 NEGHR, 10, 170

[g] Wheeler apparently emigrated without his wife and children. His wife probably joined him shortly after. Whether any of his sons later joined him is problematical. Certainly two of them--whose names appear on the comprehensive tax list of 1660 --did not.

APPENDIX B: Wiltshire Emigrants, 1654-1660

Bibliographic Note

The principal source used to compile this list is the manuscript volume which contains information pertaining to over 3,000 emigrants who indentured themselves as servants in order to migrate to the American colonies, via Bristol, from 1654 to 1663(ref. BAO 04220 [1], Servants to Foreign Plantations). The record generally provides reliable information concerning the names, dates of enrollment, places of origin, occupations, terms of indenture, and destinations of the individual emigrants. All dates have been converted to "new style", and the spelling has been modernized whenever possible. In a few cases, the occupation of the emigrant's father was recorded, and I have noted it accordingly.

In order to fill the most obvious gap in the record-- the lack of ages --I engaged in a search of the appropriate parish registers for the baptismal dates of a sample of 70 emigrants. These will be marked by an asterisk. Most of the parish registers are at the Wiltshire Record Office in Trowbridge. Those for St. Edmund's and St. Martin's, Salisbury, are at the Diocesan Record Office, Wren Hall, The Close, Salisbury.

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
*Richard Combes	Stourton	Oct. 9, 1654		7	12	Virginia
John Rose	Farley (?)	Oct., 13, 1654	Husbandman	4		"
Ruth Phillips	Tytherington	Nov. 23, 1654		4		Barbados
*Susan Selfe	Chippenham	Dec., 6, 1654		4	21	Virginia
Benjamin Stephens	Swainswick (?)	Mar. 2, 1655	Laborer	4		Barbados
Henry Stiffe	Fisherton (Anger)	Mar. 7, 1655	"	5		"
*William Brownjohn	Salisbury	Mar. 9, 1655	Husbandman (father)	5		"
*John Dickery	"	Apr. 5, 1655	Innkeeper (father)	6		"
*Dorothy Ball	"	Apr. 21, 1655		4		"
*Isaac Palmer	Sutton (Veny)	May 13, 1655	Husbandman	5		"
Sara Peters	Hindon	Jun. 21, 1655		4		"
*William Bennet	Warminster	Aug. 3, 1655	Yeoman	3	29	"
*Huddy Harris	Corsham	Aug. 20, 1655	Silkwrapper	4		"
*Robert Coller	Sutton (Veny)	Aug. 24, 1655	Carrier (father)	6		Virginia
George Hayter	Eston Jlien (?)	Aug. 29, 1655	Laborer	4		Barbados

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
Abigail Grant	Bradford	Sept., 1655		6		Barbados
James Stephens	Abraham Chest (?)	Sept. 15, 1655	Laborer	5		Virginia
Susan Wits	Calne	Oct. 15, 1655		4		Barbados
*Mary Golding	Devizes	Oct. 22, 1655		4		Virginia
Isaac Gale	Hindon	Nov. 8, 1655	Tailor	5		"
John Millard	Westwood	"	Cordwainer	4		"
*Robert Hiscox	Sutton (Veny)	Dec. 5, 1655	Laborer	4	29	Barbados
*Barbara Candy	Warminster	Dec. 24, 1655		4		"
Thomas Ilicke	Duncanton (?)	Jan. 18, 1656	Husbandman (father)	7		"
James Bishop	Westwood	Aug. 4, 1656		7		"
Tobias Barlett	"	Aug. 20, 1656	Laborer	6		"
*William Seymour	St. Margaret Stratton	Aug. 27, 1656	"	7	24	"
*William Finnell	Staverton	Sept. 3, 1656	"	7		"
Henry Scammel	Dunmet (?)	Oct. 22, 1656	Yeoman	4		Virginia
John Niblett	Malmesbury	Oct. 29, 1656	Clothworker	4		"
William Read	Tooke (?)	Nov. 10, 1656	Laborer	7		"

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
Robert Bolls	Cultell (?)	Jan. 26, 1657	Yeoman	3		Barbados
John Curtis	Salop (?)	Jan. 26, 1657	Carpenter	5		"
Daniel Smith	Kingswood	Jan. 27, 1657	Tucker	4		"
*John Little	Corsham	Jan. 29, 1657	Laborer	3		"
*Richard Fleetwood	Chippenham	Feb. 6, 1657	Flaxdresser	4		Barbados
*Thomas Prior	Trowbridge	Mar. 4, 1657	Yeoman	3	28	
George Taylor	Calne	Mar. 5, 1657	Yeoman	3	28	
*Henry Snelling	Trowbridge	Apr. 11, 1657	"	5	15	Barbados
*Richard Hillman	"	Apr. 11, 1657	"	5	26	"
Pearce Smith	Manningford	May 11, 1657		4		"
James Warren	Kingswood	Jun. 20, 1657	Tucker	4		"
Robert Bennett	Wilton	Jun. 29, 1657	Yeoman	4	26	"
*Thomas Smith	Warminster	Aug. 12, 1657	"	4	19	"
Elizabeth Cobb	Kingswood	Aug. 22, 1657		4		"
Elizabeth Giddings	Urchfont	Aug. 24, 1657		4		Virginia
*Henry Godby	Trowbridge	Oct. 22, 1657	Yeoman	4		Barbados
*Margery Godby	"	Oct. 30, 1657				"

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
*John King	Bishop's Cannings	Oct. 30, 1657		4		Barbados
Mathew Curtis	Wilton	Nov. 16, 1657		7		"
Isac Barrington	Draycott (Cerne)	Nov. 19, 1657		3		"
John Andrews	Overton	Nov. 30, 1657	Yeoman	4		"
Jane Jones	Kingswood	Dec. 2, 1657		4		"
*John Scudamore	Trowbridge	Dec. 2, 1657	Clothworker	4	20	
John Trimbrell	Oaksey	Dec. 22, 1657	Cooper	4		Barbados
Philip Ricketts	Dilton Marsh	Jan. 11, 1658		7		
Richard Massinger	Cricklade	Jan. 21, 1658	Yeoman	5		
Edward Matthews	Market Lavington	Jan. 26, 1658		5		
John Grant	Holt	"		6		
William Jaques	Alderton	Feb. 1, 1658	Yeoman	4		
Thomas Jaques	"	"		4		
*Frances Scudamore	Trowbridge	Feb. 8, 1658		5	17	
Margaret Feriz	Calne	Feb. 23, 1658		5		
John Hendy	Box	Apr. 15, 1658	Yeoman	4		
*John Lucas	Warminster	Apr. 16, 1658		4	31	

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
Millier Jones	Corsley	Apr. 16, 1658	Husbandman (father)	4		
John Niblett	Monkton Farleigh	May 7, 1658		4		
Thomas Barnes	Westbury	Jun. 9, 1658		4		
*Anne Corney	Corsham	Jul. 20, 1658		4		Barbados
John Brown	Fisherton (Anger)	Aug. 13, 1658		5		Virginia
Edward Moody	Salisbury	Aug., 1658		4		
John Richman	Amesbury	Sept. 17, 1658		4		Virginia
William Sutton	Ludgershall	"		7		"
Richard Philpott	Amesbury	"		7		"
Margaret Philpott	"	"		4		"
Grace Ricketts	Ludgershall (widow)	"		6		"
Alice Ricketts	"	"		6		"
*William Marchant	Warminster	"		4	27	"
Richard Harford	Bradford	Sept., 1658		4		"
Thomas Whitmish	Wilton	Sept. 30, 1658	Yeoman	4		Barbados
John Bilson	Bradford	"		4		Virginia

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
John Baker	Wincanton (?)	Sept. 30, 1658		4		Barbados
Robert Tenham	Porton	Oct. 6, 1658		6		Virginia
David Morgan	Lowerdford (?)	"		4		Barbados
William Saw	Edington	Oct. 13, 1658	Yeoman	4		"
*William Smith	Trowbridge	Oct., 1658		4		"
*George Cozner	"	Oct. 29, 1658		4	16	Nevis
*William Skinner	Devizes	Nov. 24, 1658		3		Barbados
Edward Wills	Fisherton (Anger)	Dec. 3, 1658		9		"
Elizabeth Smith	Harnham	"		5		"
John Henley	Bradford	Jan. 12, 1659		7		Virginia
Henry Whiten	Highworth	Jan. 12, 1659		5		Barbados
John Bessent	Wooton Bassett	"	Cooper	4		"
Thoas Morgan	Malmesbury	"		7		"
*Susan Pickford	Warminster	Jan. 28, 1659		5	30	"
Richard Brewer	Wilton	Feb. 7, 1659		4		Virginia
*Edward Pavy	Salisbury	Feb. 11, 1659		4	24	Barbados
*Francis Hales	"	"		5		

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
Thomas Corett	Salisbury	Feb. 11, 1659		4		Barbados
James Rinniat	Lacock	Apr., 1659		4		"
Nicholas Whitchurch	Rowde	Apr. 8, 1659	Yeoman			
Edward Pretty	Malmesbury	"	"	4		
Samuel Veizy	Calne	Apr. 16, 1659	Fuller	4		
Richard Millard	Nettleton	"	Carpenter	4		
*Roger Carraway	Lacock	"	Yeoman	4	31	
Samuel Newington	Greenwich	May 4, 1659	Butcher	3½		Barbados
*Dorothy Taylor	Southbroom (Devizes)	"		4	22	"
Thomas Morris	Meerick (?)	May 6, 1659	Yeoman			"
Roger Roany	Cherhill	May 21, 1659		4		"
Mary Richards	Hilmarton			3		
Mary Manster	Kingswood	Jun. 2, 1659		4		Barbados
Sarah Atkins	"	"		4		"
*Edward Scott	Devizes	Jul. 2, 1659	Yeoman	6		"
William Lewis	Crudwell	"	"	4		Virginia

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
*William Hutchins	Lacock	Jul. 9, 1659	Yeoman	6		Virginia
*John Sims	"	"		4		Barbados
*John Ellison	Box	Jul. 24, 1659	Yeoman	7		Virginia
John Pavy	"	"		7		"
Nathaniel Butt	Malmesbury	Jul. 22, 1659	Yeoman	4		"
*Elinor Scuse	Trowbridge	Jul. 23, 1659		4		"
John Galley	Fisherton (Anger)	Jul. 30, 1659		6		Barbados
Richard Clements	"	Aug. 9, 1659		6		"
William King	"	"		4		"
Dorothy French	"	"		6		"
William Feris	"	"		7		"
John Lewis	"	"		4		"
John Burton	"	"		6		"
William Hubbert	Biddeston	Aug. 15, 1659	Weaver	4		Nevis
*Margaret Beazar	Box	"		4		"
*William Head	"	"		5	16	"
*Richard Beazar	"	"		5		"

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
*John Allen	Lacock	Aug. 22, 1659	Weaver	4		Virginia
*Elizabeth Davis	"	"		4	19	Barbados
John James	(Market) Lavington	Aug. 23, 1659		4		Virginia
Mary Osborne	Charlton	Aug. 30, 1659		5		"
John Busale	Wilton	Aug. 31, 1659	Weaver	4		Barbados
*John Davis	Trowbridge	"		4	28	"
*Margery Hellier	Chippenham	Sept. 5, 1659		4		"
Anne Eaton	Westbury	"		4		"
Susan Sainsbury	"	"		5		
William English	Marlborough	Sept. 21, 1659	Yeoman	4		Virginia
Alexander Fry	Malmesbury	Sept. 24, 1659	Weaver	4		"
Philip Blisson	Kingswood	"	Yeoman	4		"
William Clarke	Woodborough	Sept. 27, 1659	Tailor	4		Barbados
Edw. Flicker	Milson	Sept. 30, 1659	Yeoman	7		"
*Richard Morgan	Chippenham	"	"	6		"
Henry Freestone	Hindon	"	Carpenter	3½		"
Richard Ford	Westbury	Oct. 13, 1659	Yeoman	4		"

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
Thomas Pruatt	Salisbury	Oct. 13, 1659	Yeoman	4		Virginia
*Thomas Brown	Warminster	Oct. 14, 1659	"	4	29	"
*George Clarke	Salisbury	Oct. 17, 1659	"	4		"
John Reynolds	Burbage	"	"	4		"
John Browne	Hull (?)	"	"	7		Barbados
William North	Burbage	Oct. 20, 1659	"	5		Virginia
John Piper	Gredbed	"	"	4		"
Robert Reynolds	Burbage	Oct. 29, 1659	"	4		"
William Blake	"	"		4		"
Thomas Elliot	Heytesbury	"	Apothecary	4		
*Jane Steevens	Salisbury	Nov. 5, 1659		4	25	
Mary Nott	"	"		4		
Mary Tippery	"	"		4		
*Cicely Poore	"	"		4	19	
*William Weekes	"	"		4		
*Simon Tufton	"	"		4		
*Richard Sims	"	"		4	21	

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
John Spicer	Salisbury	Nov. 5, 1659		4		
*William Austen	"	"		4	22	
John Cherry	"	"		4		
Andrew Bacon	"	"		4		
*Andrew Pride	"	"		4		
*Robert Miller	"	"		4	32	
William Carter	"	"		4		
John Cunscome	"	"		4		
Evan Jones	"	"		4		
*Henry Pavier	"	"		7		
William Minty	Polsteed (?)	Nov. 7, 1659	Yeoman	4		
Stephen Graven	Westbury	Nov. 13, 1659	Shoemaker	6		
Anne Deane	Newbury	Nov. 15, 1659		4		
*Elizabeth Miles	Trowbridge	Nov. 18, 1659		4	19	
*Christopher Rivell	"	"		4		
*Richard Whelpley	Devizes	Nov. 28, 1659	Yeoman	4		
Elizabeth Say (widow)	Alderton	"		4		

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
Mary Bayly	Maiden Bradley	Nov. 29, 1659		4		
*James Kelloway	Salisbury	Dec. 1, 1659		4	15(?)	Barbados
*Matthew Perry	"	"		4		"
*Katherine Fell	"	"		4		"
Adria Jones	"	"		4		"
William Clarke	"	Dec. 3, 1659		4		"
John Smith	Poulton	"	Tailor	5		"
*James Reynolds	Devizes	Jan. 29, 1660		7		"
Henry Norway	Milston	Feb. 21, 1660	Yeoman	6		"
*William Wilkes	Chippenham	Jul. 11, 1660	"	8		Virginia
Anne Rake	Meere	Sept. 18, 1660		4		"
*Sarah George	Salisbury	Oct. 12, 1660		4	26	"
Richard Smoakin	Clack	Oct. 3, 1660		5		"
John Payne	Salisbury	Oct. 12, 1660		7		"
*Anne Luxmore	"	"		7	12	"
Joan Franklin	"	"		4		"
*Rebecca Foenix	"	"		4		"

Name	Place of Origin	Date	Occupation	Term	Age	Destination
Elizabeth Musprat	Salisbury	Oct. 12, 1660		4		Virginia
*Margaret Waterman	"	"		4		"
*John Luke	"	"		7	15	"
*John Bishop	"	"		7	15	"
Nicholas Pye	Westbury	Dec. 12, 1660	Yeoman	4		Barbados

APPENDIX C : Population Estimates of Wiltshire Towns, 1524-1697

Note on Sources

A variety of sources have been employed in the following analysis. First, an early sixteenth-century estimate of population was made possible through the use of what was perhaps the last reasonably comprehensive subsidy assessment, that of 16 Henry 8 (ref. PRO, E 179/197/155-174a). Those assessments which included wage-earners and laborers are most inclusive, and only they were utilized. The number of people assessed was multiplied by Peter Laslett's mean household figure of 5.073 (see Peter Laslett, "Size and Structure of Household in England over Three Centuries," Population Studies, 29[1969], 199-223) to arrive at a fairly accurate estimate. The remaining sixteenth-century demographic sources were checked-- Chantry Certificates (1547), the Bishops' Returns to the Privy Council on the state of the dioceses (1563), and the various Elizabethan muster rolls --but all were found lacking for Wiltshire.

Reliable early seventeenth-century sources are scarce, and one often must turn to aggregative analysis of extant parish registers. The drawbacks of this method are well known (see R. S. Schofield, "Historical Demography: Some Possibilities and Some Limitations," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser., 21[1971], 119-32), but care was taken to use only those registers which appear most reliable. More accurate estimates were obtained for Warminster by way of the lists of householders, described in Section II (pp. 96-103). Hearth tax assessments compiled in the early Restoration period were of little use, since those for Wiltshire are miserably deficient. However, a later seventeenth-century estimate was made possible through the use of the ecclesiastical returns of 1676 (Compton Census), which gives the number of Anglican communicants, Roman Catholics, and Protestant Dissenters (those for Wiltshire are printed in Wiltshire Notes and Queries, vol. 3, 533-39). All were presumably over the age of sixteen, though there is reason to believe that those over sixteen were sometimes given as well. The returns which appeared most accurate were multiplied by 1.66 and 2, since it is commonly assumed that between 40 and 50 percent of the late seventeenth-century population were under the age of sixteen. The mean struck between the two totals is herein given as population in 1676. Other seventeenth-century estimates were based on printed sources cited in the footnotes.

A. Salisbury

(1) 1520's ----- c. 8,000[a]

(2) 1630's ----- 6,876[b]

St. Edmund's --- 2,521
St. Thomas' --- 2,561
St. Martin's --- 1,785

(3) 1676 ----- 6,496[c]

(4) 1695 ----- 6,976[d]

B. Trowbridge

(1) 1610's ----- 1,116[e]

(2) 1620's ----- 1,249[e]

(3) 1630's ----- 1,319[e]

(4) 1650's ----- 1,180[e]

(5) 1676 ----- 1,714

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[a] W. G. Hoskins, "English Provincial Towns," p. 5. Hoskins based his estimate on the 16 Hen. 8 subsidy assessment.

[b] Slack, "Poverty and Politics," p. 176.

[c] VCH, Wilts., VI, p. 157.

[d] Benson and Hatcher, Old and New Sarum, p. 822.

[e] These figures were deduced from baptisms in the parish by multiplying the annual average of the decade by a multiple calculated from a comparison of average baptisms between the years 1673-1679 with the 1676 census figure:

$$\frac{\text{Baptisms, 1631-40}}{10} \times \frac{\text{Est. population, 1676}}{\text{avg. annual baptisms, 1673-79}} = \text{Est. population, 1630's}$$

The results are inevitably tentative, but enable some comparisons to be made.

C. Devizes

(1) 1655 ----- 2,640[f]

D. Chippenham

(1) 1524-5 ----- 542

(2) 1676 ----- 1,244

E. Marlborough

(1) 1630's ----- 3,031[g]

Sts. Peter and Paul --- 1,260
St. Mary's --- 1,771

(2) 1676 ----- 3,200[h]

Sts. Peter and Paul --- 1,200
St. Mary's --- 2,000

F. Warminster

(1) 1524-5 ----- 578 (town)

(2) 1610's ----- 1,488 (parish)[i]

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[f] In 1655, the two Devizes parishes were said to contain 485 families. See VCH, Wilts., X, p. 227

[g] Based on aggregative analysis of the parish registers, according to the formula described in note (e), above.

[h] An obvious, yet fairly accurate, estimate on the part of the compiler of the ecclesiastical returns of that year.

[i] Based on aggregative analysis of the parish register, according to the formula described in note (e), above.

F. Warminster (contin.)

(3) April, 1623 ----- 1,374 (town)[j]
" ----- 1,607 (parish)[j]

(4) 1629 ----- 1,486 (town)
" ----- 1,738 (parish)

(5) 1639 ----- 1,572 (town)
" ----- 1,839 (parish)

(6) 1642 ----- 1,552 (town)
" ----- 1,815 (parish)

(7) 1649-50[k] ----- 1,471 (town)
" ----- 1,721 (parish)

(8) 1659 ----- 1,340 (town)
" ----- 1,567 (parish)

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[j] This and estimates for the years 1629, 1639, 1642, 1649-50, 1659, 1660, and 1662 are based on the lists of male householders resident in Warminster town (ref. WRO 845/Manorial Bndl. #2). Several adjustments were necessary to reach the final estimates. Female heads of households were not included on the lists, but probably comprised about one-tenth of the total number of householders in any given year (for example, approximately one-tenth of those appearing on the 1665 list of tithpayers [cited below] were widow-householders). Hence, if:

a = total # of male householders,
b = one-tenth of (a),

then $(a \times 5.073) + (\frac{a}{10} \times 5.073)$ = estimated population of Warminster town.

Moreover, since approximately one-sixth of the tithepayers in 1665 lived outside the town in the tithings of Boreham, Bugley, Heygrove, and Winehill, it is assumed that approximately that many lived beyond the town's limits in the previous four decades. These were added in order to arrive at an estimated population of the parish.

[k] The list of householders upon which this estimate is based is undated. However, I have been able to tentatively date it by matching certain individuals with their dates of burial and dates in which their last wills and testaments were probated.

F. Warminster (contin.)

(9) October, 1660 ----- 1,435 (town)
" ----- 1,680 (parish)

(10) October, 1662 ----- 1,415 (town)
" ----- 1,655 (parish)

(11) 1665 ----- 1,390-1,440 (town)[1]
" ----- 1,626-1,684 (parish)

(12) April, 1675 ----- 1,577 (town)[m]
" ----- 1,845 (parish)

G. Swindon

(1) 1627 ----- 525 (approx.)[n]

(2) 1676 ----- 580

(3) 1697 ----- 791[o]

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[1] Based on a list of tithepayers which appears in Daniel, A History of Warminster, pp. 115-19. A total of 354 individuals, 30 of whom are widows, appear on the list. It is probable that many of the 324 males listed were younger sons, journeymen, or apprentices who "lived in" (i.e. lived within another's household). It was not unusual that such persons paid tithes (see, for example, Peter Laslett and John Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," in H. E. Bell and R. L. Ollard, eds., Historical Essays, 1600-1750, Presented to David Ogg [London, 1963], pp. 169-70). Based on comparisons made with other Warminster lists, I have concluded that between 70 and 80 on the 1665 list of tithepayers were "young men" similar to those listed separately in 1642, 1649-50, and 1660. This leaves between 274 and 284 (male and female) householders. The population estimates are based on these figures.

[m] The list of April, 1675 also includes young men who probably were not householders. After adjustment is made for this, the number of householders totals 311 (male and female).

[n] In 1627, it was said that there were approximately 300 "communicants" (over the age of 16) at Swindon. VCH, Wilts., IX, p. 105.

[o] VCH, Wilts., IX, p. 105.

APPENDIX D: Wiltshire Wills, 1619-1689

The following wills were employed in the analysis of inheritance customs in Section II, B. The individuals whose wills are listed below lived in the following towns: Marlborough; Salisbury; Warminster; and Westbury.

Citation	Testator's Name	Date Probated
PRO, Prob 11		
" /137/56	Anthony Morse	Feb., 1621
" /212/92	Joseph Grant	21 Jan., 1650
" /216/60	Jordan Bisse	28 Apl., 1651
" /216/94	William Presse	31 May, 1651
" /216/97	Robert Shergoll	?
" /220/33	William Hawker	1 May, 1652
" /224/226	William Wilde	23 Aug., 1652
" /230/285	Edmund Poole	30 Sept., 1653
" /234/81	John Gawen, the elder	24 Feb., 1654
" /234/94	Thomas Aldridge	14 Jun., 1654
" /234/95	John Wilton	May, 1654
" /239/310	Robert Dredgs	10 Mar., 1654
" /240/402	John Adlam, sen.	_____, 1654
" / 243/20	Thomas Bucke	20 Feb., 1655
" /244/95	Edmond Meor	Feb., 1655
" /249/368	John Turner	4 May, 1655
" /252/11	John Norris	17 Jan., 1656
" /261/23	Henry Knight	Feb., 1657
" /266/263	George Antram	_____, 1657
" /270/464	Robert Gardiner, the elder	Apl., 1657
" /277/271	John Custors	Jun., 1658
" /279/409	George Gerish	Aug., 1658
" /283/615	May Flower	29 Nov., 1658
" /294/433	John Adlam	21 Aug., 1659
" /299/109	Thomas Butcher	July, 1660
" /302/277	Richard Whatley	Dec., 1660
" /303/11	Anthony Thresher	Jan., 1661
" /304/71	John Edwards	_____, 1661
" /309/141	Christopher Hinton	_____, 1662
WRO, Cons. Sarum	Robert Warum	12 Jul., 1622
"	John Watson	7 Mar., 1644
"	Richard Merefield	30 Jun., 1643
"	Hugh Diggery	13 Mar., 1667
"	Thomas Hayles alias Skipper	9 Sept., 1647
"	Nataniel Hone	5 Jun., 1665

Citation	Testator's Name	Date Probated
WRO, Cons. Sarum	Richard Cornwall	1 Jul., 1644
"	William Woods	1 Sept., 1619
"	John Williams	24 Apl., 1633
"	William Tirly	4 Apl., 1631
"	Edward Myllington	3 Oct., 1668
"	John Redford	29 May, 1624
"	William Redford	18 Jun., 1663
"	John Payne	23 Sept., 1634
"	Ambrose Ponten	13 Jun., 1623
"	William Eyres	5 Aug., 1644
WRO, Arch. Sarum	John Norrice	10 Oct., 1639
"	Roger Stevens	3 Nov., 1641
"	Thomas Wheeler	17 Aug., 1642
"	John Harmon	3 Nov., 1643
"	John Coombe	2 Nov., 1643
"	Richard Titcomb	18 Aug., 1669
"	Thomas Marsh	6 Jun., 1671
"	John Richmond	26 Feb., 1680
"	William Wheeler	27 Mar., 1682
"	Joshua Bath	9 May, 1683
WRO, Sub-Dean, Sarum		
" (9)	Richard Flood	12 Jul., 1622
" (15)	Richard Hill	27 Feb., 1627
" (14)	Henry Parsons	30 Jul., 1621
" (8)	Soloman Jacobbs	8 Jun., 1624
" (7)	Peter Johnson	2 Dec., 1632
" (3)	Charles Abbett	9 Aug., 1630
" (8)	Joseph Whatle	10 Mar., 1625
" (6)	John Tite	28 Feb., 1620
" (25)	John Pride	24 Mar., 1670
" (5)	Richard Highwood	1 Apl., 1633
" (5)	William Arnold	17 May , 1661
" (4)	John Bennett	12 May , 1677
" (2)	Anthony Joye	28 Mar., 1689
" (1)	Robert Noble	29 Jun., 1688
" (1)	William Peacock	5 Feb., 1640
" (10)	Thomas Lane	15 Jul., 1678
" (9)	John Michell	10 Nov., 1631
" (4)	Richard Bassett	16 Feb., 1632
" (5)	Peter Clarke	27 Aug., 1636
NEGHR, 42, 308-09	Henry Byley, the elder	23 Jun., 1634
Peculiar Court of the Precentor or Chantor of Sarum		
" 4/52	Nicholas Biggood	Sept., 1641
" 3/14	William Forde	Aug., 1636
" 9/14	Hugh Watts	Oct., 1671
" 8/14	Stephen Tanner	Aug., 1670

APPENDIX E : Population Estimates of Rural Wiltshire Villages, 1524-1676

Note on Sources and Methods

Essentially the same sources were consulted in this analysis as were noted in Appendix C. When available, the early sixteenth-century subsidy assessment, 16 Hen. 8 (ref. PRO, E179/197/155-174[a]), was used to arrive at a fairly reasonable population estimate for the years 1524-5. Again, only those assessments which included wage earners and laborers were employed. The number of householders given in each was multiplied by Laslett's mean household size of 5.073.

In order to fill the gap left by a scarcity of reliable late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century sources, it was necessary to turn to aggregative analysis of extant parish registers. Besides the inherent difficulties of the method itself (which is described in note [a], below), further problems are presented by lost or destroyed registers (e.g. Semley, Donhead St. Andrew, Donhead St. Mary, Sutton Mandeville, Plaitford, and Landford), and incomplete or poorly-kept recordings of baptisms and burials. Even though an effort was made to use only those registers which appear most inclusive, the results remain somewhat speculative.

However, a more reliable source of early seventeenth-century population exists for some of the parishes in the form of the Protestation Returns of 1642. These are lists of all adult (over-18) males who were required, by Act of Parliament, to swear allegiance to the Protestant religion, the power and privileges of Parliament, etc. The very incomplete returns for Wiltshire (only certain southern rural parishes were included) are printed in Wiltshire Notes and Queries, vol. 7, 16-18ff. The method of converting these parish lists of oath-takers into population estimates (see W. G. Hoskins, Local History in England, 2nd edn.[London, 1972], pp. 172-3) is fairly simple: multiply the number of oath-takers by two to get an estimated number of male and female adults in the parish; multiply that sum by 10/6 (assuming here that 40% of the population was under 18 years of age) to arrive at the estimated total population in 1641-2. Finally, the same ecclesiastical returns (Compton Census, 1676) that were utilized in Appendix C were used here to estimate the population of these rural parishes in the later seventeenth century.

A. Box

(1) 1524-5 ----- 314

(2) 1580's ----- 549[a]

(3) 1610's ----- 761[a]

(4) 1620's ----- 898[a]

(5) 1650's ----- 966[a]

(6) 1676 ----- 847

B. Corsham

(1) 1524-5 ----- 375

(2) 1580's ----- 1,695[a]

(3) 1620's ----- 1,637[a]

(4) 1640's ----- 1,764[a]

(5) 1676 ----- 1,726

C. Lacock

(1) 1524-5 ----- 477

(2) 1580's ----- 968[a]

(3) 1620's ----- 1,476[a]

(4) 1650's ----- 1,324[a]

(5) 1676 ----- 1,321

---

[a] These figures were deduced from baptisms in the parish by multiplying a decade's annual average by a multiple calculated from a comparison of average baptisms between 1674 and 1678 with the 1676 census figure:

$$\frac{\text{Baptisms, 1581-90}}{10} \times \frac{\text{Est. population in 1676}}{\text{avg. annual baptisms, 1674-8}} = \text{Est. population in the 1580's}$$

D. Downton[b]

(1) 1610's ----- 961[c]

(2) 1620's ----- 1,030[c]

(3) 1641-2 ----- 1,023

(4) 1676 ----- 1,500[d]

E. Whiteparish

(1) 1580's ----- 397[c]

(2) 1610's ----- 530[c]

(3) 1620's ----- 547[c]

(4) 1630's ----- 655[c]

(5) 1676 ----- 600[d]

F. Landford

(1) 1641-2 ----- 150

G. Sutton Mandeville

(1) 1641-2 ----- 230

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[b] The parish of Downton is very large and includes a borough. This makes it particularly difficult to differentiate between population in the borough and population in the rural tithings. However, there is some indication that the town was very small, and comprised only a very small percentage of the parish's total seventeenth-century population. For example, the Hearth Tax data of 1662 suggests that the borough contained only 18% of the entire parish's hearths. See PRO, E 179/259/26b.

[c] Based on aggregative analysis of the parish register, according to the formula described in note (a), above.

[d] This figure represents an obvious estimate of the parish's total population by the local compiler of the ecclesiastical returns of that year.

H. Semley

(1) 1641-2 ----- 230

I. Tisbury

(1) 1580's ----- 683[e]

(2) 1610's ----- 1,033[e]

(3) 1620's ----- 1,088[e]

(4) 1630's ----- 1,034[e]

(5) 1676 ----- 1,100

J. Broad Chalk

(1) 1524-5 ----- 355

(2) 1580's ----- 517[e]

(3) 1600's ----- 576[e]

(4) 1610's ----- 447[e]

(5) 1620's ----- 496[e]

(6) 1630's ----- 510[e]

(7) 1641-2 ----- 563

(8) 1676 ----- 587

K. Kingswood

(1) 1597 ----- 862[f]

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[e] Based on aggregative analysis of the parish registers, according to the formula described in note (a), above.

[f] In 1597, it was estimated that Kingswood contained 170 householders. See A.P.C., xxvii, 221.

APPENDIX F : Wiltshire Wills, 1596-1688

The following wills were employed in the analysis of inheritance customs in Section II, C. The individuals whose wills are listed lived in the following parishes: Landford; Plaitford; the rural tithings of Downton; Whiteparish; Donhead St. Andrew; Donhead St. Mary; Semley; Tisbury; Sutton Mandeville; Box; the rural tithings of Chippenham; Corsham; and Lacock.

Citation	Testator's Name	Date Probated
PRO, Prob 11		
" /141/18	Ellizi Thaine	?
" /143/22	George Burton	?
" /146/79	Alexander Musslewhite	?
" /149/82	Robert Mullens	?
" /154/65	Thomas Battlye	20 May, 1628
" /156/100	Edmund Blandford	7 Jun., 1629
" /158/105	John Coles	12 Sept., 1630
" /170/40	Thomas Blandford	5 Dec., 1635
" /175/43	Tristram Light	2 Oct., 1637
" /195/41	John Moody	May, 1646
" /205/111	Henry Little	June, 1648
" /209/138	John Sanders	28 Sept., 1648
" /215/17	John Butler	?
" /227/142	Thomas Noble	16 May, 1653
" /236/189	William Little, the elder	June, 1653
" /236/189	William Simpson	?
" /240/375	Robert Reynolds	_____, 1654
" /248/302	John Powntey	July, 1655
" /262/99	John Eastman	4 Apl., 1657
" /270/467	John Bush	Nov., 1657
" /276/227	Edmund Bond	18 May, 1658
" /303/24	William Hancock	_____, 1661
" /329/54	Maurice Eastman	_____, 1669
WRO, Cons. Sarum	Ursula Goodenowe	22 May, 1634
" "	William Pike	19 May, 1635
" "	Robert Earle	28 May, 1638
" "	Robert Ley	22 Jun., 1650
" "	John Rose	5 Jul., 1662
WRO, Arch. Sarum	John Rolfe	8 Oct., 1625
" "	John Harris	1 Dec., 1638
" "	Robert Carpenter, alias Wheeler	27 Nov., 1630
" "	Edward Cox	26 Nov., 1633
" "	Robert Morris	29 Apl., 1642

Citation	Testator's Name	Date Probated
WRO, Arch. Sarum	John Luske	22 Sept., 1621
" "	William Harraway	26 Feb., 1638
" "	John Sharpe	17 Jun., 1630
" "	Henry Welsteed	25 Mar., 1633
" "	German Bowler	31 Oct., 1635
" "	John Pressie	4 Jul., 1626
" "	Henry Fowler	23 Oct., 1638
" "	William Ham	7 Jul., 1638
" "	Richard Tucke	3 Dec., 1631
" "	John Eastman	11 Sept., 1663
" "	William Rose	23 Aug., 1643
" "	Thomas Blandford	9 Oct., 1624
" "	Richard Bugden	13 Feb., 1637
" "	Stephen Bealinge	20 Feb., 1638
" "	Thomas Dybden	24 Mar., 1623
" "	Robert Lucas	28 Nov., 1644
" "	John Parham	7 Mar., 1627
" "	William Ransom	13 Oct., 1627
" "	Thomas Weekes	1 Apl., 1623
" "	Richard Biddlecomb the elder	21 Oct., 1628
" "	John Bracher	11 Oct., 1642
" "	John Wyatt	5 Apl., 1632
" "	James Needle	10 Oct., 1637
" "	Thomas Nitingale	14 Feb., 1638
" "	Thomas Goodeynow	19 Mar., 1617
" "	John Blandford	21 Jan., 1605
" "	William Sangar	_____, 1596
" "	Alice Blandford	16 Mar., 1629
WRO, Arch. Wilts.	Simon Blicke	8 May, 1673
" "	Thomas Bowyer	23 May, 1688
" "	Jane Willis	24 Apl., 1668
" "	Richard Phelpes	22 Oct., 1670
" "	Henry Farnwell alias Gouldney	15 Apl., 1641
" "	Thomas Lanfier	9 Jul., 1673
" "	William Bush	21 Oct., 1670
" "	Edward Dunmer	13 Dec., 1638
" "	George Dunmer	17 Oct., 1679
" "	Philip Matha	4 Apl., 1679
" "	Richard Sloper	14 May, 1662
" "	Edmund Bailey	30 Oct., 1663
" "	Miles Bush	17 May, 1666
" "	George Beasar	10 May, 1678
" "	Walter Duffine	24 Apl., 1668
" "	William Flower	24 Apl., 1668
" "	John Head	11 Apl., 1637
" "	John Head	19 Feb., 1639
" "	Michael Crosse	24 Apl., 1668

Citation	Testator's Name	Date Probated
WRO, Pec. Ct. of the Perpetual Vicar of Corsham, f. 123	John Little	20 Apl., 1632
" f. 127	John Pinchin	19 Apl., 1633
" f. 134-5	Thomas Fiffield	1 Feb., 1637
" f. 135-6	John Hulbert	6 Aug., 1639
" f. 145-6	Jane Hulbert	1 Aug., 1650
" f. 159	John Gibbins	1 Dec., 1655
" f. 192	John Hulbert the elder	31 Aug., 1670
" f. 199	Robert Smith	30 Aug., 1673

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Apprenticeship Enrollments, 1600-1658
Servants to Foreign Plantations, 1654-1663

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Lansdowne Mss.

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Archdeacon of Wiltshire, Act Books (Office)
Archdeacon of Wiltshire, Visitation Books
Bishops Act Books (Office)
Bishops Transcripts of Parish Registers
Churchwardens Presentments
Consistory Court, Citations
Consistory Court, Depositions
St. Edmund's (Salisbury) Parish Register
Sub-dean Sarum, Citations
Sub-dean, Sarum, Excommunications
Sub-dean Sarum, Sentences

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Privy Council Registers, Charles I
State Papers Domestic, James I
State Papers Domestic, Charles I
State Papers Domestic, Commonwealth
State Papers Domestic, Charles II
Subsidy Assessments
Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury
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Salisbury Municipal Archives Office

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Land Tax Assessment, 1649
Ledger Books
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    St. Martin's Poor Rate, 1635
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    Court Books of the Manor of Downton
    Hungerford Estates, Rent Rolls
    Longleat Ms. (Warminster)
    Survey of Brokenborough
    Survey of Estates in Downton Parish
Parish Records:
    Chippenham Churchwarden Accounts
    Parish Registers
    St. Mary, Devizes, Overseers Accounts
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    Settlement Certificates, Trowbridge
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